

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

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ART. I.—SAINT AUGUSTINE AND HIS TIMES.*

BUSTLING and utilitarian as our age is generally called, it cannot reasonably be accused of slighting the lessons of the past or despising the names of the good and great of former times. Indeed, the very ardor with which we are urged to join in the bold enterprises and sanguine movements of the day has led many to take an opposite turn, and seek in the study of antiquity a quiet and a wisdom which they find not in the restless tumult around them. They meet with more to soothe and edify them in the Greek and Roman classics or the Christian Fathers, the wisdom of Indian sages or Egyptian priests, than in the

* 1. *Histoire de Saint Augustin, Sa Vie, Ses Œuvres, Son Siècle, Influence de Son Génie.* Par M. POUJOLAT. Paris. 1845. (History of Saint Augustine, his Life, his Works, his Age, the Influence of his Genius. By M. Poujoulat.) Three Vols. 8vo.

2. *A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church, Anterior to the Division of the East and West.* Translated by Members of the English Church. Oxford. 1840—45. Vols. I—XX. 8vo.

3. *Ancient Christianity and the Doctrines of the Oxford Tracts for the Times.* By the AUTHOR OF "SPIRITUAL DESPOTISM." Fourth Edition, with Supplement, Index and Tables. London. 1844. Two Vols. 8vo.

pages of political newspapers or reform magazines, the visions of financial schemers or the disputes of sectarian divines.

While we are receiving from the principal nations of Europe every school of new philosophy and every project of social innovation, we are assured from the same quarters by other voices, that all philosophy is a sin against faith and all innovation is a rebellion against authority. France gives us Fourier with his promised millennium of industrial association, and De Maistre with his eulogies of the dark ages and his predictions of the return of Papal dominion. From Germany the reverent voices of Adam Moehler and Frederick Schlegel have entreated us not to listen to the war-notes of Frederick Strauss and Henry Heine, nor prefer to the ancient Church with its literature of faith, modern rationalism with its literature of the senses and understanding. England, too, our own England, sends forth antagonist influences quite as various. Robert Owen comes to teach us his plans of socialism, and Dr. Wiseman writes to win us back to the Roman Church. Carlyle calls the Pope a miserable chimera, and Kenelm Digby lauds the Papal ages, as the "ages of faith." With one hand our mother country gives us railroads, and bids us by her example traverse the ends of the earth; with the other she holds out to us the Oxford Tracts, and insists upon quietude, fasting and prayer as the path of peace and the way of life. As a people we are ready to welcome every form of foreign influence, and, whether moved by imitation or our own dispositions, are beginning to exhibit on a large scale the antagonist tendencies of which we have spoken. We are carrying out democratic theories, and giving full scope to priestly domination; we are establishing Fourierite communities, and building stately cathedrals; we are engaging in earnest enterprises of business and reform, that agitate the soul, and encouraging music, painting, sculpture, gardening, and the arts, that soothe the soul. We are erecting fine houses as if we were to live forever, and laying out beautiful cemeteries as if it were no great ill to die. From some traits of our character it would seem as if David Crockett with his noted adage embodied our national genius, while in other traits we show some kindred with Old Mortality and his love of wandering among the graves.

Forward as our march is, we tend now strongly to the study of the past. We love to stop in our course, to visit the tombs of our fathers and build monuments to the saints of our own and former ages. Not to speak of the number of historical works printed and read among us, it is surprising that so many treatises upon sacred antiquity have been sent from our presses, and that the Christian Fathers are winning so much attention at our hands. Whatever may be the cause of this,—whether intellectual curiosity or sectarian strife, we cannot say,—it is evident that great questions now before our people must lead us to study anew the history of the Church, and come to a satisfactory conclusion concerning the men and the doctrines of the primitive ages.

Taking Christendom at large, it is obvious that within the last ten or fifteen years the study of the Christian Fathers has been revived in a remarkable manner. Without quite accepting the pseudo-prophet Miller's doctrine of a speedy end of the world, to be accompanied by a bodily resurrection of the saints, we may say that in one sense in our time the saints have already been raised; "the souls of them that suffered for the witness of Jesus and the word of God" have been seen and appreciated anew. Their spirit has been studied, while their works have been faithfully exhibited. No longer in their original voluminous manuscripts, nor in their former cumbrous folios, their thoughts now appear with all the aids of modern art, the more attractive garb of modern print and editing. Chrysostom and Augustine, subdued as was their pride, could not but have rejoiced, had they foreseen the honors paid them in this nineteenth century; and in view of the elegant octavos in which Paris and Oxford have enshrined their works, they would have bestowed no small benediction upon the memory of Dr. Faustus, and have broken the spell that has coupled his name with the prince of darkness.

Of course we are far from thinking that the mass of readers among us will soon care much for patristic lore. Its results, however, are interesting all persons of Christian faith and common intellectual curiosity, whilst an earnest band of thinkers and scholars, both in the Old World and the New, are turning to the pages of the Fathers for oracles of wisdom that can, as it seems to them, cure the chief of

prevalent follies. One reason of the revival of the study is, doubtless, to be found in that love for all historical investigation which so strongly marks recent literature. Somewhat suspicious of mere theories of society and philosophies of religion, we wish to know what has actually been done in former times to carry men forward, and are more disposed to value ideas and institutions that have worked well than ambitious schemes that only promise well. The historic schools of Germany, England, and even France show a strong conservative tendency, and prove that our nineteenth century with all its bustling progress is far more reverently retrospective than the eighteenth, far more disposed to unite memory with hope as guides of the world. As a result of this historical movement, of course the Christian Fathers must come in for their share of attention; and merely philosophical fidelity, to say nothing of Christian faith, has moved writers of the stamp of Guizot and Michelet to try to appreciate fairly the men, whose works best illustrate that great period in which the world passed from Paganism to Christianity, and the foundations of our Christendom were laid upon the ruins of ancient empires.

Moreover, the religious aspect of our age favors the study of the Fathers. There is in some quarters a strong suspicion, that Protestantism has gone too far in encouraging freedom of thought and disparaging the authority of creeds, traditions and priesthods. Considerable numbers of thinking persons, who are reluctant to cast themselves at the feet of the Pope and surrender their freedom to the council of Trent, are seeking or advocating some middle ground between Papal despotism and what they call Protestant self-will. The Christian Fathers are held up as standing on such middle ground, and we are asked to read them if we would be saved from both the perilous extremes in the theology of our day, and learn to harmonise just liberty of thought with due recognition of the Church and its traditions. There is not a little of this tendency among the Protestants of Germany, although it has been exhibited to us more directly in the Oxford Tractarians and the various works which they have written and edited. At the time when liberal principles in religion and government were at their height in England, these men conceived the plan and undertook the work of leading their country back to

ancient authority both in Church and State. In the midst of the enthusiasm of the Reform Bill and the emancipation of Dissenters and Romanists, these scholars looked with sadness upon the innovation, sought some remedy in the lessons of the past, and not stopping with the principles of the Reformation, in Germany or England, nor willing to countenance the usurpations of Rome, they appealed boldly to the Christian Fathers, and thus brought on a reaction against modern liberalism, that has produced already great effect in their own country, and has gained not a few followers among us, some among mature and cautious minds, many among the young and romantic. It is evident, that the chief part of the recent theological literature of England is strongly tinged with the Oxford doctrines. The result has been very bitter to the Evangelical party in the English Church, as we may surely infer, when so wise and good a man as Isaac Taylor, the author of the work on *Ancient Christianity*, the title of which is given at the head of this article, interrupts his previous course of authorship, gives himself so entirely to this one topic, and seems sometimes in danger of losing his temper at the asperity with which he, and all kindred champions of what he calls Evangelical Christianity, are treated by those who give tradition so important a place by the side of the Bible. His work, in connection with the Oxford Library of the Fathers, the title of which we have also given, will enable our readers, who are not ambitious of a more laborious study of the Greek and Latin originals, to form a good idea of the questions at issue between the two parties in the English Church. As Mr. Taylor is an earnest member of the Establishment, we are not, by referring to him with favor, quoting any writer hostile to that Church.

His book is probably the ablest treatise on *Ancient Christianity*, or rather the Christianity of the Nicene age, that has appeared in our time. Indeed so far as it deals with the Nicene Fathers in the claims set up for them as Catholic authority, the work is unsurpassed by any that can be named. It is superior to the famous work of Daillé, by concentrating its light upon the most important point of the subject and breaking the authority of the Fathers by assaulting the centre of their position. It differs from the more celebrated treatise of Chillingworth, on the religion of

Protestants, which was suggested by the work of Daillé, in dealing more with facts than abstractions, by exhibiting tradition as it was in the age of its boasted purity, and showing conclusively what was the actual doctrine of the Nicene Fathers, and what folly and absurdity must follow from leaving the sure rule of Scripture and accepting their authority. Mr. Taylor deals almost solely with the doctrine of celibacy as held by the Fathers and with the development of its consequences. He regards this doctrine as the parent of all superstition and fanaticism, morbid feeling, false doctrine and pernicious formalism. He finds such fruits of its influence in the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, as lead him to regard the mighty hierarchy which was subsequently built up by Gregory I., and completed by Gregory VII., as a great reform, a salutary check upon the error and wickedness already brought into being. He makes ample quotations from the Nicene Fathers to prove his position, that they generally held the doctrine of celibacy as the highest virtue, and that their works show that the state of religion around them was very low. To us his work is conclusive upon one point, that if the Christian Fathers are to be taken as authoritative guides, we must at once quit our common Protestant principles, believe in the sanctity of celibacy, the worth of relics, the magical power of the sacraments, and all of Popery except the doctrine of a supremacy of the Pope otherwise than as the primacy of honor. Mr. Taylor's book is interesting from its unity of purpose. He allows the champions of tradition to take their strongest ground among their strongest authorities, and then bears down upon the centre of their position with the force of a Nelson's attack or a Napoleon's charge. Undoubtedly by dwelling so much upon one point and with a purpose so hostile to the opposite party, he is in great danger of overlooking the true worth of the Fathers.

It is therefore well for those who read his somewhat disheartening pages, to take a glance at the brighter side of the subject, and learn from the series of Translations before us, the Library of the Fathers, how much wisdom and piety they contain. Whatever may be thought of the Nicene theology, we must find much to respect in all these volumes. Of the authors here given, Augustine, Cyril of Jerusalem, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Athanasius,

Tertullian, Gregory, Pacian, four or five stand out prominently as writers. No reader can deny that Tertullian is full of fire, or that Athanasius is mighty in argument, or that Chrysostom is eloquent, or Augustine profound. We could have wished that Clement and Origen had been included in these volumes, and have hope that their noble spirit and deep wisdom will give them a place ere long in the series. Yet we must remember that the chief favorites of the translators have not yet been represented; that of the choice three, Ambrose, Basil and Chrysostom, only the last has appeared in these volumes. Perhaps it is not wholly wrong, to desire that with specimens of the best works of the Nicene Fathers some of the worst had been also given, that we might judge of the age in its folly as well as its wisdom, and see what idle legends and degrading superstitions the wisest of them cherished, what monkish fanaticism Athanasius could eulogise and what priestly miracles Augustine could credit.

We propose to speak especially of one among the Christian Fathers in connection with his times, the one who has exercised a more permanent influence than any of them. Aurelius Augustinus, commonly called St. Augustine, is of course the man. We will try to give some idea of the age, the man, and his works.

He was born in the middle of the fourth century, a century more momentous to Christendom than any other except that in which Jesus lived, and that in which Luther wrote. During this century Christianity had become the established religion of the Roman Empire. Constantine had laid his sceptre upon the Christian altar; Julian had striven in vain to supplant the faith of the cross by his splendid eclecticism of philosophical deism, natural symbolism and vulgar Paganism; and by the labors of a brilliant company of orators, prelates, scholars and theologians, the Christian doctrines were settled for ages, and ecclesiastical institutions were consolidated. We shall be better able to estimate the leading men of this period by a glance at the previous history of the Church. The first writers after the death of the Apostles are the Apostolical Fathers, whose writings are chiefly pastoral and practical, such as the Epistles of Polycarp and Ignatius. Next come the defenders of Christianity against Heathen assaults, the Apologists,

such as Justin Martyr and Tatian. Their works are valuable chiefly as showing the common objections to Christianity and the prevalent mode of meeting them. Gradually as the religion gained progress, and won for itself strongholds in various countries and allied itself with intellectual culture, it began to show itself under various forms with the most marked characteristics. Before Constantine took the Gospel under his patronage, the Church had shown itself to be the most stable power in the Empire, and had combined great unity of action with considerable freedom of thought. The different communities of Christians had their favorite tendencies. Look at the various seats of Christianity around the shores of the Mediterranean at the beginning of the third century, and we see at once a broad diversity of character and tendency. In the East and among those who spoke the Greek language we find, that at Alexandria, the city where Greece and Judea had blended their civilization, Christians were disposed to connect philosophy with religion; at Antioch in Syria, so long the centre of Apostolic missions, they were more disposed to the critical study of the Bible; at Ephesus and in the whole of Asia Minor, where St. John had labored so long, they were more disposed to urge the practical principles of Christianity. Come westward, where Rome ruled and the Latin language was spoken, we find the idea of an authoritative priesthood more strongly enforced and see the germs of the hierarchy that Hildebrand finally consolidated. One portion of the Western Church, the Christians of North Africa, first of whom was Tertullian and chief of whom was Augustine, were occupied most with those doctrines and duties that bear upon conversion and exhibit a moral strictness which has commended them especially to historians of the Evangelical school. But alike in Rome and Carthage the Church of the West was the champion of spiritual power, whether in church organization acting on numbers, or by direct appeal subduing the individual soul. The spirit of Peter and Paul seemed to rule the West, that of James and John the East.

We thus see that Augustine was surrounded by peculiar influences. He came upon his illustrious mission in a peculiar country at a peculiar time. A citizen of North Africa, he was surrounded by zealots whose fervor had

been kindled by the revivalist principles of Tertullian, and blended either with the strong hierarchical dogmas of his disciple Cyprian, or else with the fierce fanaticism of the schismatic Donatists. He lived in the palmy age of the Imperial Church, and in near relations with the most conspicuous personages of his day. He was the convert of Ambrose, the correspondent of Jerome, the contemporary of Chrysostom, the opponent of Pelagius. He was brought into contact with the chief literary, political and ecclesiastical movements of his time, and his life more than that of any other man illustrates the influences that were brought to bear upon a thinking mind in the fourth and fifth centuries. We have reason to rejoice that so much has been permitted to reach us concerning his history, especially concerning his trials of faith.

Augustine was born in the year 354 at Tagaste, an obscure Numidian village near Carthage, in North Africa. The place of his birth might lead us to expect some characteristics akin to those he exhibited. He probably bore in his veins the warm blood of a Nomad race of Africa, tempered by the influence of the Phenician colonists and Roman conquerors. How far each element predominated in his ancestry, we have no means of ascertaining. Certain it is that he had much of the African fire, the Oriental sentiment, the Roman fortitude and prudence. His education was not happy, although probably its trials and temptations contributed much to the depth of his experience and the subsequent power of his efforts. His father was a Pagan until near the close of life, and a man of little elevation of character. His mother was a Christian of eminent piety. She evidently had much trouble in saving her son from the corrupting opinions and manners around him, and in striving to educate him in Christian principles. He describes the troubles and vices of his boyhood with great minuteness. His graphic pictures of his mischievous pranks, as, for example, his robbing the pear-tree when he knew the pears were not fit to eat, shows how much all bad boys are alike, and that notwithstanding the progress of civilization there are not a few truants in our grave New England to remind us of the young rogue of Numidia. He does not give a very flattering account of his boyish scholarship, and appears to have had little love for his severer studies, such

as Greek and Mathematics, whilst he had a great fondness for the Latin and especially its poetic literature. He speaks with as much emphasis of his trials in learning the multiplication table as could any of our modern dunces or idlers. Yet such was his evident vivacity, and especially his fondness for poetry and declamation, that his parents thought best to give him the advantage of a city school in the neighborhood, at Madaura, where he learned grammar and rhetoric. He made no great progress there either in character or learning, and returned home at the age of sixteen, and sank into habits of idleness and dissipation. His mother, good Christian as she was, constantly expostulated with him, but in vain. He treated her not ungently, but paid no regard to what seemed to him her womanish talk. At the age of seventeen, he was sent from home again, and about this time he lost his father. At the school in Carthage he soon took the lead alike in the studies and the dissipations of the scholars. While here, his son Adeodatus was born, of an illicit connection. Yet his conscience was not wholly dormant, and he had occasional pangs of remorse. He was not under good influences, although he seems to have yearned for them. The views of Christianity that were presented to him do not appear to have won his assent, much less his affections. In his nineteenth year he was much impressed by reading a work of Cicero, which contained an exhortation to philosophy, and bore the name of Hortensius. This kindled within him a burning thirst for wisdom, and gave him a disgust for the riotous companions with whom he had been so intimate, a set of dashing bullies, who were called "subverters," and who seem to have had something of the character of the "renowners" of the German Universities. He resolved to abandon vice, not so much in the spirit of the Gospel as of the Academy, not so much because vice is sinful as because it is degrading to the dignity of an intellectual being. Such considerations have little power in redeeming men of Augustine's mind and temperament. Philosophy has its place, and is good in its place. But it is not religion, nor has it by itself ever done much to make men turn from their sins. The best of the Greek sages could do little to bring men up to the noble ideal which they set forth. What Socrates, Plato and Zeno could not

do, was not likely to be accomplished by the elegant Roman who repeated in his own way their ideas. Cicero, and such as he, may give some light, may set forth high aims, but can afford no vital warmth, no moving power, no divine sanctions to lead men to follow the light and seek the high aims. Augustine soon found this out, for he was not lacking in shrewdness. His soul craved more substantial food than Cicero's beautiful speculations on the world and man, God and immortality. What Rousseau said of the inadequacy of philosophy, Augustine felt. The Numidian and the Frenchman were much alike in temperament, both having strong passions with deep sentiment, and both recording their lives in the most candid Confessions that have come to us. But the religion which the one dreamed of, the other found, although not without years of weary wandering and bitter disappointment. Without supernatural facts to rest upon in faith, philosophy is very vague and delusive, and they who accept the same nominal principles find practically little firm ground to rest upon in common. The soul of Augustine was like the wind-sown seed, borne about from place to place on its air-tossed pinions. Not until it rested upon the soil of the Christian vineyard did it take root and blossom.

Augustine had always cherished a great reverence for the name of Christ, and had been so much impressed by his mother's instructions that, unbelieving as he was, he declares that "whatsoever was without that name, though never so learned, polished or true, took not entire hold of me." In Cicero's pages he missed this name, and felt desirous of learning more of Christ from the Scriptures, which he had never read, — a fact which gives us no very high idea of the state of Christian knowledge in the see of Carthage. He set himself to reading the Scriptures, but was very much disappointed in them. They seemed far beneath the stateliness of Cicero. From his rhetorical education he had a passion for fine writing, and could not as yet appreciate the sublime simplicity of the sacred books. This he afterwards confessed, and lamented that he did not bring the spirit of humility that can interpret the divine word, and like a little child enter the kingdom of heaven. He was not satisfied with the Christianity of the Bible, but sought something more complex and philosophical. He was just in a state

of mind to become the dupe of the Manicheans, a sect who endeavored to incorporate a system of Oriental philosophy with the doctrines of Jesus and the rites of the Church. Most thoughtful young men of nineteen or twenty are ambitious of finding some philosophical system that shall explain all things and give them a theory of the universe. The vagaries of the theological students in the Old World and the New at present might teach us to be charitable to the young Numidian, and find among present follies fair parallels for his Manichean extravagances. This sect declaimed against all authority, and glorified human reason, while they forced upon it the wildest dogmas. It undoubtedly numbered many profound and earnest minds among its votaries, as all bold theories will. It had enough of philosophy to attract the inquiring, and enough of assertion to awe the simple. It was a strange mingling of Oriental pantheism and Christian forms and phraseology. It showed a sentimentalism ready to weep at the plucking of a radish as if at the extinction of a spark of the divine life, and at the same time a hardness of heart indifferent to human suffering because of the eternal necessity of evil, and scrupling to relieve the hunger of the uninitiated on the ground that to give food to the unspiritual was imprisoning God's gifts in sinful matter and preventing the spirit that pervades nature from disengaging itself from its heavy clogs. The men that held this doctrine pleased Augustine more than Paul and John. While they gratified his speculative curiosity, they probably tended to palliate his vices as only a necessary emanation from the eternal evil. For nine years he is associated with them, much to the mortification of his mother who could with difficulty tolerate his doctrines in her house, and would have closed her doors against him, but for her fervent hope of his conversion. Yet he was an earnest seeker for truth, and while teaching rhetoric, first at Tagaste and then at Carthage, his mind was constantly active. "O truth, truth," cries he, in speaking of himself, the young enthusiast of twenty, "how inwardly did even then the marrow of my soul pant after thee, when they often and diversely and in many and huge books echoed of thee to me, though it were but an echo! And these were the dishes wherein to me, hungering after thee, they, instead of thee, served up the sun and moon,

beautiful works of thine, but yet thy works, not thyself, no, nor thy first works." At twenty-nine his faith in Manicheism is considerably shaken, as he discovers the ignorance and assumption of many of its disciples, and the insufficiency of the doctrine for his needs, and before this he had misgivings of the correctness of the morals of the Manicheans. He is haunted by skeptical doubts, although he cannot yield to them.

He was restless and unhappy. Disgusted with the licentiousness of his scholars at Carthage, and craving greater light and a broader sphere, he sailed for Rome. Falling sick at the house of a Manichean and still fettered by his connection with the sect, he teaches awhile in Rome after his recovery, and relieves his continued discontent by going to Milan, then the most brilliant diocesan city of Italy. Here the main crisis of his life came, and the Numidian rhetorician was transformed into the great theologian and renowned saint. That voyage across the Mediterranean was more important in its results than the passage of his famous countryman, Hannibal, more than five centuries before. The teacher of rhetoric and the great captain of his age both went to yield to a Roman conqueror. Hannibal was overcome by Scipio with fatal loss. Augustine to his vast gain was subdued by a Roman with a will strong as Scipio's, but with weapons mightier than sword and shield.

At Milan Augustine went to church, not with any devout intentions, but led by his rhetorical tastes and by the curiosity so natural in a stranger to hear a preacher of unrivalled fame throughout Italy. He listened to a man who soon awakened far other feelings than the luxurious sense of literary beauty or oratorical eloquence. The preacher was no other than Ambrose, the great prelate of the West, who had been forced to become bishop because he had shown such wisdom and energy as civil governor; who bore the crosier as heroically as he had borne the sword; who had made the sceptre of the haughty Theodosius bow at his feet, and rendered his own anathema mightier than the imperial decree. Augustine was much struck with the manner of Ambrose, alike by his earnest address and his mode of setting forth the Christian doctrines. He became acquainted with him, was kindly received, and although by no means converted, he is evi-

dently within the attraction of that mighty will before which all opposition was wont to yield. He finds some of his difficulties regarding the Scriptures, especially the Old Testament, cleared up by the preaching of Ambrose, who evidently interpreted many things figuratively that offend the reason when taken literally, and who in spite of his stern high-church notions held many of the free, spiritual views of the Greek Father, Origen, concerning the Bible. There was a vein of poetry too in Ambrose that must have won upon the sentiment and imagination of Augustine, for this great prelate was author of celebrated Catholic hymns and an earnest patron of sacred music, which his protégé so enthusiastically loved.

Monica, Augustine's mother, heard with no small joy of her son's present tendencies, and joining him at Milan, confirmed his good resolves, and rejoiced vastly on her own account in the ministrations of Ambrose. She hoped to see her son ere long fully embrace Christianity, now that he had given up his Manichean notions. The change in his mind went on. He now learned to ascribe evil, that awful reality that had so tormented his intellect as well as perverted his heart, to an original perversion of the free-will of man, and not to an eternal and necessary existence. One step more and he might embrace the Catholic faith. He must accept the Church doctrine as to the nature of Christ and his relation to the Father. This step he must take, not by yielding to authority, but in a way congenial with his mind. He fell in with the writings of some of those later Platonists, perhaps Plotinus or Porphyry, who believed in a philosophical Trinity of the Divine nature without believing in Christ, and who thus prepared him, as they have prepared many thoughtful minds, in ancient and modern times, for accepting the Orthodox doctrine upon the subject. A champion of the Church like Horseley glories in this fact, as proving the identity between the teachings of the best philosophy and the Divine word. So far as mere opinions were concerned, Augustine might have entered the Catholic Church, as Ambrose seems to have desired him to do. Still he lingered, and thirty, the age at which a man surely ought to fix upon his plan of life and receive his initiation, found him halting between the world with its pleasures and honors, and religion with its

duties and renunciations. At the age of thirty-two, his chosen hour came. He had long struggled with good success against intellectual doubts, now he was to triumph over the passions that had held him in such thralldom.

The story of his conversion to the Christian life is perhaps too familiar to be dwelt upon. He had been for sometime a diligent student of the Scriptures, especially St. Paul's Epistles, those writings which have ever been so powerful in meeting the wants of persons dissatisfied with themselves, and seeking peace. In a retired garden, he was struggling with his agitated thoughts, when he overheard a voice, which seemed to him miraculous and which probably was from the spirit within his own soul, but which some suppose came from a child in a neighboring house, saying, "Take and read." These words struck him as singularly applicable to his own case, and he opened a manuscript of Paul's Epistles which he had with him, and his eye fell upon this passage from the Romans:—"Not in chambering and wantonness, not in rioting and drunkenness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof." This appeal brought him to the practical point. It was the true crisis of his life, the key to his thoughts and his subsequent labors and influence. In that moment, all his past trials, sins, meditations, struggles, aspirations, concentrated their force, and as he turned away from the evil and gave his heart to God, the divine spark fell upon him. The fire-baptism came, and thenceforth the purification went on, the wood, hay and stubble were consumed, the gold, silver and precious stones of the inner temple remained.

Who will wonder at his subsequent course? Not appealing to the angry strifes of controversial folios, nor resting in the dogmas of doctors of divinity, who will marvel that this young Numidian should now consecrate his vast powers so earnestly to illustrating the free grace of God in converting the soul, and be prone to dwell constantly on the wickedness of mankind and the glory of the divine mercy, and finally incur the danger of merging the freedom of the human will in the all-absorbing power of God? The system of the theologian was an obvious development of the experience of the man. Compare his Confes-

sions with his later theological treatises, and we see in the first the lava of the burning mount, and in the last that lava hardened into stone, or if you prefer the figure, into substantial soil.

In his thirty-third year he received baptism at the hands of Ambrose, together with his son, Adeodatus, a youth of rare promise, although a child of shame. His mother's cup was now full of joy, and she was ready to go in peace to the world so long in her contemplations. His account of her death is the most beautiful passage in his celebrated Confessions. She was to die on her way home to Africa, the year of her son's baptism. His bearing towards her, always tender, was now full of pathos and beauty. He describes an earnest conversation with her a few days before her death; God and heaven were the theme, and mother and son felt that there was between them a spiritual communion that the grave could not sever. He closed her eyes, and committed her body to the earth in a land of strangers. He felt desolate indeed, but not in despair. The good angel of his whole life was not with him in the world any more, but her blessing remained. On the morning after her burial, he awoke with the words of one of the hymns of Ambrose, sounding through his mind like a chant of heavenly choirs. It is the hymn beginning thus:—

Maker of all, the Lord,
And Ruler of the height,
Who robing day in light, hast poured
Soft slumbers o'er the night;
That to our limbs the power
Of toil may be renewed,
And hearts be raised that sink and cower,
And sorrows be subdued.

He closes the part of his Confessions that relates to his years of wandering and trial, with a touching tribute to his mother's memory. He returned to Africa, soon became a priest of the Church, and in seven years from his baptism is raised to the Episcopal chair of Hippo, the royal city of Numidia, where he passed his whole subsequent life, an influential prelate, and a thinker of power unequalled in his time, and perhaps unsurpassed by any of the great theologians of any age, either in the force or the effect of

his works. His life, subsequent to his return, is more to be learned from his works than from any remarkable events. All he wrote bore the coloring of his early experience, therefore have we been so minute in detailing its various stages.

As to the time of composition, Augustine divides his works into four classes. First, those which were written between his conversion and baptism; the chief of which were some philosophical essays, composed in the pleasant retirement of the villa of his friend, Verecundus, and which, as Schleiermacher has justly remarked, seem to be the Tusculan Questions of the philosophic convert, a treatment of familiar academic topics with reference to his new convictions. Next come the works written after his baptism and before his taking orders in the Church; a period of about three years, spent, as probably by St. Paul under similar circumstances, in retirement, meditation and study, saddened however by the death of his son. The principal productions of this period were his books upon the morals of the Manicheans and upon those of the Catholic Church, part of his treatise on free will, and the work upon true religion. Reluctantly on his part, he was made presbyter by the bishop of Hippo, Valerius, and seems to have passed the four next years in labors mainly of a practical character, such as expositions of Scripture, pastoral addresses, and short ethical essays, although he was by no means so absorbed in parish cares as to forget paying his respects occasionally to his old friends, the Manicheans, for whose benefit he completed his work on the will. Towards the end of the year 395, being at the age of forty-one, he was ordained assistant bishop to Valerius, and in a year was left to the sole charge of the diocese by the death of his principal. From that time to his own decease in the year 430, his most celebrated works were written and his greatest influence was exerted. In brilliant succession came forth his Confessions, his "De Trinitate," his treatises against the Pelagians, and his master-piece, the City of God. In this period, besides attending to vast official duties, he recorded the story of his own experience, wrote at great length upon all the principal controversies of the day, opposing now the Donatists, now the Arians, now the Pelagians, vindicated the kingdom of Christ against the

kingdoms of this world, and before sinking into the grave calmly reviewed all his writings and published his corrections in the two books of *Retractationes*.

There was a singular connection between the topic that inspired our author's last great work, the "City of God," and his own fate. He died in the midst of a barbaric invasion which brought a second Alaric to the gates of Hippo, so long the city of his residence. After having revised his most important works as if aware of approaching death, he was destined to breathe his last in a scene of tumult and carnage little in keeping with his many years of quiet life. Hordes of half Christianized barbarians, under Genseric the Vandal, were ravaging the land. Three months after the commencement of the siege of Hippo, Augustine died, inexpressibly grieved at the evil prospects of the church and the people; happy in seeking the better land, in being spared the horrors of beholding his altar desecrated and his flock scattered. Yet dark as we are assured by his disciple Possidius his forebodings were, his hopes for his religion and his race could not fail.

"One cannot think without sadness," says the French biographer Poujoulat, "of the images which must have embittered the last days of the bishop of Hippo, if the contemplation of the world invisible and imperishable had not softened them. *The City of the earth*, whose origin and vicissitudes Augustine had traced, appeared to him under very dismal aspects, and it is towards the City of God, of which he was also the Catholic Homer, that all his hopes were lifted. We however believe that a blessed light flashed across the night of his tribulation at his closing hour; we believe that Augustine, by the power of his genius and above all by a ray from on high, hailed the new world that was to spring from the old and doomed world, saw future ages receiving all their glory from the inspirations of Christianity, the East becoming young again and vivacious under the footsteps of barbarians, as nature is more brilliant and the air more pure after a storm, and finally the whole universe advancing to moral unity beneath the banner of the cross. This vision of the future was like a golden veil thrown over the earth then so deeply distracted." — Vol. iii. pp. 305-6.

He who wrote the City of God must, upon his death-bed, have believed in a power that would subdue the barbaric lion into obedience to the Lamb of God. History has by

no means altogether defeated the sublime anticipations of this great prophet of the Cross.

Thus passed away at the age of seventy-six, the renowned Augustine, the illustrious thinker of his age, and next to Athanasius the chief dictator of the creed of the Church.

It would be in place now to take a survey of the works, characteristics and influence of our saint, did time and the reader's patience allow. We must defer such a survey to another occasion, and pause from our task with a few words relating to the age of Augustine and the changes which have since passed over the world.

The work of M. Poujoulat recalls that age with remarkable vividness, and places it in striking connection with our own. He has not apparently added anything of value to the critical labors of Tillemont and the Benedictines, or of Neander and the German historians, although he has, he declares, faithfully perused the saint's entire works in the original, — no small task for an enthusiastic Frenchman, such as he shows himself to be. But he has done what no previous historian has done. He has visited the scenes of Augustine's life and labors, wrought them with great beauty into his narrative, and thus by a happy combination of the tourist and the antiquarian he has probably given far greater charm to his subject than mere scholarship, however vast, or philosophy, however profound, could possibly do. He is evidently very familiar with Augustine's various works, and gives an analysis of them in a very pleasing, popular style. His Roman orthodoxy does not permit him however to see the decided predestinarian notions of his author, nor to allow to Jansenius and Calvin any ground for laying claim to Augustine as an advocate of their views of human inability and divine election. He is obviously a warm devotee of the Roman Catholic Church, although not in priestly orders. He calls himself a man of the world, yet he must be a pretty strict confessor of the faith to be the favored protégé of the Archbishop of Paris, as his book denotes. There is considerably more of the Popish stamp upon the beginning and close, than on the main body of the work. Opposite the title-page is a poor lithograph of Murillo's picture of Saint Augustine and the angel, which represents a child-angel, with a shell in his hand, telling him

that it is as vain to try to solve the mystery of the Trinity as to try to empty the ocean with that shell. Then follows a patronizing letter from the Archbishop of Paris, and at the close of the third volume a long correspondence is appended, describing the pompous restoration to Africa of part of the remains of St. Augustine — the bones of the right arm, which by order of the Pope, and by an escort of bishops and priests, were taken from the Cathedral of Pavia in Italy, borne across the Mediterranean in the steamer Gassendi, and with solemn masses and processions deposited October 30, 1842, in the chapel of Bona, not far from the site of the saint's original tomb. The sacred relic was first carried to Augustine's monument, where imposing ceremonies were exhibited before a large and various crowd of Christians and Mahometans, soldiers and ecclesiastics. The monument, which has been recently erected, is an altar of white marble, and bears a bronze statue which looks towards the sea and that France "which now shows herself so worthy," says Poujoulat, "to reckon Augustine henceforth among her own children." The French nationality indicated in this last clause pervades M. Poujoulat's whole work. Yet he enters very fully into the spirit of Augustine, and by no means allows the patriotism of the Frenchman to hide the faith and charity of the Christian. His love for his author appears somewhat eloquently in a closing passage of his work: —

"In completing this work, something of sadness moves my heart. I am about to take leave of a good and excellent friend, with whom I have long held converse; my days and often my nights have been passed in listening to Saint Augustine, in interrogating his genius, in following him in the diversity of his thoughts and his cares; I have made myself his contemporary, his disciple, the witness of his labors and of his virtues, the companion of his footsteps through the world; and lo! now from year to year, from labor to labor, from conflicts to conflicts, I have seen this great man sink into the tomb, or rather ascend towards God! and these last pages are like perfumes borne to his tomb; and what I loved has vanished, and like the men of Galilee after the ascension of the divine Master, I stand still upon the mountain, and seek Saint Augustine in heaven! Of all the masters of religious science, the Bishop of Hippo is the one who has given me the best comprehension of Christianity, who has introduced me farthest into the invisible world. Grati-

tude has sometimes erected monuments sacred to memory; my hands are too feeble to build pyramids; all that I have been able to do, is to engrave upon a stone fragile as my days the great name of Saint Augustine, in remembrance of the benefit I have received." — Vol. iii. pp. 327-8.

We translate but two short passages more, which afford a good idea of the peculiar value of what he has done to give freshness to the biography of his hero. They contain a sketch of the present appearance of ancient Hippo.

"The fig-tree, the olive, and the apricot, meadows and harvests cover the pleasant declivities of Hippo and the whole space once occupied with habitations; nature has stretched its richest mantle over the sepulchre of the ancient city; vegetation has taken the place of a whole people, and when, pilgrim of history, I have trodden this illustrious soil, I have not heard the thousand sounds of a great city, but only the murmur of the Seybous, the song of birds hidden in the flowery thicket, and the prolonged lowing of cows guarded by a Moorish herdsman. This place in which Providence had placed a torch which was seen from the four corners of the world, I loved to behold thus decked with all the treasures of creation; I heard with joy the melodies of the nightingale at the place from which Augustine taught men harmonies divine and eternal."

"Seen from the rising ground of the Seybous, the high land of Hippo which we call the hill of Saint Augustine's monument presents outlines of infinite grace; it detaches itself from the plain by harmonious and gentle lines, whose expression is beyond description. This hill seems as if it had fallen from the hand of God to serve as a pedestal to the most profound thinker of Christian antiquity. It offers to the imagination something of the gracefulness that marks the proportions of Saint Augustine's genius. This man, who saw in creation as in the arts steps by which to ascend to God, was fitly placed upon the banks of the Seybous, in the midst of a charming country, in face of the sea, the Edough and the Atlas, and nature was undoubtedly one of his motives for loving his dear Hippo so fondly." — Vol. i. pp. 197-8: 202-3.

As we close our sketch with this vivid picture before us, we cannot but glance at the changes that have come over Christendom since Augustine's time. Could the legend, preserved by Gibbon, and told of seven young men in that age, who were said to have come forth alive from a cave at Ephesus, where they had been immured for death by the Pagan Emperor Decius, and whence they were said to have

emerged, awakened from nearly two centuries of slumber, to revisit the scenes of their youth and to behold with astonishment the cross displayed triumphant, where once the Ephesian Diana reigned supreme; — could this legend be virtually fulfilled in Augustine, dating the slumber from the period of his decease; could the great Latin Father have been saved from dissolution and have sunk into a deep sleep in the tomb where Possidius and his clerical companions laid him with solemn hymns and eucharistic sacrifice, while Genseric and his Vandals were storming the city gates; and could he but come forth in our day, and look upon our Christendom, would he not be more startled than were the seven sleepers of Ephesus? There indeed roll the waves of the same great sea; there gleam the waters of the river on which so many times he had gazed, musing upon its varied path from the Atlas mountains to the Mediterranean, full of lessons in human life; there stretches the landscape in its beauty, rich with the olive and the fig-tree, the citron and the jujube. But how changed all else. The ancient Numidia is ruled by the French, the countrymen of Martin and Hilary; it is the modern Algiers. Hippo is only a ruin, and near its site is the bustling manufacturing town of Bona. At Constantine, near by, still lingers a solitary church of the age of Constantine, and the only building to remind Augustine of the churches of his own day. In other places, as at Bona, the mosque has been converted into the Christian temple, and its mingled emblems might tell the astounded saint how the Cross had struggled with the Crescent, and how it had conquered. Go to whatever church he would on the 28th of August, he would hear a mass in commemoration of his death, and might learn that similar services were offered in every country under the sun and in the imperial language which he so loved to speak. Let him go westward to the sea-coast, and he finds the new city, Algiers, and if he arrived at a favorable time he might hear the cannon announcing the approach of the Marseilles steamer, see the people throng to the shore for the last French news, and thus contemplate at once the mighty agencies of the modern world, powder, print, and steam. Although full of amazement, it would not be all admiration. He would find little in the

motley population of Jews, Berbers, Moors, and French to console him for the absence of the loved people of his charge, whose graves not a stone would appear to mark.

Should he desire to know how modern men philosophized in reference to the topics that once distracted his Manichean period, he would find enough to interest and astonish him in the pages of Spinoza and Leibnitz, Swedenborg and Schelling; and would be no indifferent student of the metaphysical creeds of Descartes and Locke and Kant. Much of novelty would undoubtedly appear to him united with much familiar and ancient. Should he inquire into the state of theology through Christendom, in order to trace the influence of his favorite doctrines of original sin and elective grace, he would learn that they had never in their decided form been favorites with the Catholic Church, that the imperial mother had canonized his name and proscribed his peculiar creed, and that the principles that fell with the walls of the hallowed Port Royal have found their warmest advocates in Switzerland, in Scotland, and far America, beyond the Roman communion. He would recognise his mantle on the shoulders of Calvin of Geneva and his followers, Knox of Scotland, and those mighty Puritans who, trusting in God and his decreeing will, colonized our own New England, and brought with them a faith and virtue that have continued, while their stern dogmas have been considerably mitigated in the creed of their children. The Institutes of Calvin would assure him that the modern age possessed thinkers clear and strong as he, and the work of Edwards on the Will would probably move him to bow his head as before a dialectician of a logic more adamantine than his own, and make him yearn to visit the land of a divine who united an intellect so mighty with a spirit so humble and devoted. Should he come among us, he would find multitudes to respect his name and to accept his essential principles, though few, if any, to agree with him in his views of the doom of infants or of the limited offer of redemption. He would think much of our orthodoxy quite Pelagian, even when tested by the opinion of present champions of the ancient faith. In the pages of Channing he would think his old antagonist, Pelagius, revived, with renewed vigor, enlarged philosophy, and added eloquence. He might call this perhaps too fond champion

of the dignity of man by the name, Pelagius, — like him in doctrine, like him, as the name denotes, a dweller by the sea. Who shall say how much the influences of position helped to form the two champions of human nature, the ancient Briton and the modern New Englander, both in part at least of the same British race, both nursed by the sea-side, the one by the shores of Wales or Brittany, the other by the beach of Rhode Island. "No spot on earth," says Channing, "has helped to form me so much as that beach. There I lifted up my voice in praise amidst the tempest. There, softened by beauty, I poured out my thanksgiving and contrite confessions. There, in reverential sympathy with the mighty power around me, I became conscious of power within."

How long before the human soul shall reach so full a development, that faith and works, reason and authority, human ability and divine grace shall be deemed harmonious, and men cease to be divided by an Augustine and Pelagius or an Edwards and Channing? Although this consummation may not soon, if ever, be, and opinions may still differ, charity has gained somewhat in the lapse of centuries. Those who are usually considered the followers of Pelagius have been first to print a complete work of Augustine in America — his Confessions. The Roman Church, backed by imperial power and not checked by Augustine, drove the intrepid Briton into exile and an unknown grave. He who more than any other man wore his mantle of moral freedom in our age died, honored throughout Christendom, and the bell of a Romish cathedral joined in the requiem as his remains were borne through the thronged streets of the city of his home. s. o.

ART. II.—REV. JOHN ANDREWS D. D.

THE personal worth of this venerable man, as well as his position among the oldest of the fathers in the ministry, requires a tribute of respect to his memory in this journal. Dr. Andrews was born in Hingham, Mass., March 3, 1764. His father, Joseph Andrews, was a substantial farmer.

His mother was a daughter of Colonel Richmond, who as an officer in the royal army distinguished himself at the capture of Cape Breton. Dr. Andrews was the fourth son and sixth child of his parents. When quite a lad, he was apprenticed to Mr. Fleet, a printer in Boston; but his earnest desire to obtain a liberal education, induced his father to consent to his leaving Mr. Fleet at the end of the second year of his apprenticeship. He was fitted for College by the late Dr. Howard of Springfield, at that time a teacher in Hingham, and entered Harvard University July, 1782. He was graduated with honor in 1786, studied theology at Cambridge, and resided for two years as private tutor in the family of the late Chief Justice Dana. He soon received and accepted a call to settle as colleague with the Rev. Thomas Cary, (who was taken from his stated labors by a paralytic affection,) over the First Church in Newburyport, and was ordained December 10, 1788. On the 8th of September, 1789, he was married to Margaret, daughter of Dr. Edward Wigglesworth, Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College. Mr. Cary died November 24, 1808, and Dr. Andrews retained the sole charge of the parish until May 1, 1830, when he resigned his office: he continued, however, at the unanimous request of the church, to administer the ordinances until the settlement of his successor in August of the following year.* After his resignation Dr. Andrews preached occasionally to one or two societies in the vicinity of Newburyport. He officiated for the last time about two years since in his native town. His death took place at Newburyport on the 17th of last August, in his eighty-second year. In 1824 he received at Cambridge the honorary degree of D. D.

The First Church in Newburyport was at its formation a liberal church, as distinguished from the Calvinistic

* It will not be out of place to state here a fact or two in regard to the society over which Dr. Andrews was settled. The First Church in Newburyport (then the third in Newbury) was gathered January 12, 1726, and on the 19th of the same month Rev. John Lowell of Boston, a descendant of one of the early settlers of the town, and grandfather of the senior minister of the West Church in this city, was ordained as its first pastor. The ministries of Mr. Lowell, Mr. Cary, and Dr. Andrews covered a period of more than a century. The successor of Dr. Andrews a few years since attended in his company the funeral of an aged lady, (the relict of the late Dr. Sawyer,) who was married by Mr. Lowell, and had been a member of the society under all four of its ministers.

churches in its neighborhood, and such it has remained to the present day. Dr. Andrews in his opinions, like his predecessors, would be classed among those now known as Unitarians. He abhorred all exclusiveness, and owned no creed but the Bible. During the earlier years of his ministry there were several clergymen in the north part of Essex county who agreed with him in his anti-Calvinistic views, and until towards the close of his professional life he freely exchanged pulpit services with all the Congregational ministers in the town and vicinity. His hair had become gray and he was numbered among the elders, before he was shut out from the so called orthodox churches. As a preacher, Dr. Andrews touched but seldom on controverted topics, preferring to confine himself, as by far the most important, to more practical subjects. His sermons were popular in his day; and his services in the pulpit more than usually acceptable, both at home and abroad. He was called upon to preach the Dudleian Lecture, and to deliver several occasional discourses which were published. One of his printed performances was a Eulogy on the death of President Washington, whom he regarded with enthusiastic reverence, heightened by the fact that among his early patrons and friends were several of the prominent actors in the Revolution. For fifty years Dr. Andrews was a Trustee, and for half that time the accurate and punctual Treasurer of Dummer Academy. He was one of the delegates from Newburyport in the Convention for revising the Constitution of this State.

But his life as a whole was without striking incidents, and was spent almost entirely within the limits of his own parish, in the unostentatious, faithful performance of the duties of the ministry; in the enjoyment of the friendship of some of the most eminent men among his contemporaries, and of the well-deserved respect of a large, intelligent and harmonious congregation. Unaffected in his manners, generous in his hospitality, charitable to the destitute, warm in his affections, unbending in his integrity, strong in his religious principles and Christian faith, Dr. Andrews has left behind him the memory of a pure and upright character. He belonged to a generation of men of whom but very few remain among us, — living witnesses to the stirring and critical events which marked the infancy of our

republic. His opinions and prejudices were those prevalent among intelligent and good men in the days of his youth ; and they remained fixed and firm to the last. His habits were exact and systematic. The useful and time-saving virtue of punctuality he carried almost to excess. In all his dealings and doings he was a "minute man ;" and it may be doubted, whether on any occasion he was ever known to be tardy. He felt and expressed warm affection and solicitude for the welfare of the University at which he was graduated, almost to the day of his death. When he seemed unconscious of their presence, and unable to recognise old and familiar friends, he would make repeated and pertinent inquiries as to the state of the questions agitated concerning Harvard College.

Dr. Andrews met with severe bereavements. Kindred and friends fell at his side until he stood almost alone. Besides a beautiful child who died in infancy, he lost under very trying circumstances his eldest son, soon after he had entered the Christian ministry with bright promise of usefulness and success, and in the evening of his days he parted with the wife of his youth, for many years the sharer of his sorrows and his joys, tenderly beloved and sincerely mourned. His resignation under these trials showed that he could calmly practise the submission he preached as a Christian duty. Another cross he also bore with meekness and patience. It is difficult for an aged minister to perceive and admit, when, on account of his infirmities or changes in the tastes of society, the time has arrived for his retirement from office. The force of habit, the consciousness of an unimpaired interest in his work, and the continued esteem and confidence of the early friends who may still remain among his parishioners, all conspire to make him reluctant to leave the field in which he has so long labored. To be willing to resign his place, and that too gracefully and with Christian meekness, is evidence of a right and religious temper. All who knew Dr. Andrews will bear witness, that he left the pulpit for the pew in a way to command respect, and set a bright example ; that the faithful pastor, when circumstances demanded, became the excellent parishioner, interested to the last in the welfare of the congregation, of which for more than fourscore years he had been a pastor.

As evidence of the unaffected humility of Dr. Andrews, and also to show how strong to the last was his faith in the favorite truth, of which he was never weary of hearing or speaking—the reunion in a future world of those most dear in this, we may mention the fact, that he left written directions to have his funeral conducted with the greatest simplicity, and also an inscription for his grave-stone. This inscription, after giving his name and the usual dates, concluded thus:—

“He cherished the fond hope, of meeting in the heavenly world the beloved friends who had gone before him.

There thy bright train, immortal friendship, soar,
No more to part, to mingle tears no more.”

Dr. Andrews was not a great man,—a man of shining and brilliant qualities; but he was emphatically a good man,—a good Christian man, one who used his talents in the right way, and endeavored always, and in all relations, to do his duty with fidelity and according to the dictates of an honest conscience. His long life was without contention, and none ever doubted the entire honesty and purity of his purposes. To be able to say this, to be able to say that his was a heart that might have been laid open to the world without a fear that anything unworthy would be found therein, is to be able to say a great deal. No greater honor need be desired than that which can safely be claimed for our venerable friend: for we can stand by his grave and say without qualification, “Here lies the dust of one, who ‘in simplicity and godly sincerity had his conversation in the world;’ one who went to his fathers in peace, and was buried in a good old age; one whose days on earth were the days of the upright.”

The writer of this imperfect notice knows that after the mental faculties of the venerable subject of it were weakened, and something of second childhood had come upon him, his religious trust remained firm, and his religious hope bright. He spoke from time to time more calmly of his own departure from earth, which he felt was near, than upon almost any other topic. Death had for him no terrors: he was rather anxious to go hence. He has gone to his reward, and left a good name as a rich legacy to those who mourn his loss.

T. B. F.

ART. III. — NEW HYMN BOOKS.*

THIS large array of Hymn Books, most of them very recent, and some just from the press, certainly indicate an unusual attention to one of the most popular departments of sacred literature, and one of the most interesting helps of social worship. We must admit that it indicates something more, — a want of perfect satisfaction with any Collections heretofore in use. In both these respects it reminds us of the Collections of church music, which have lately been multiplied in a corresponding manner, to meet new wants in our religious congregations. With respect to these latter, however, we cannot but suspect that the interests and peculiar tastes of the compilers have had at least as much influence in promoting the enterprise, as any wishes of the people. We cannot help looking with some mistrust on rapid successions of works of psalmody from precisely the same hands, and feeling that the spirit of fickleness or of trade may have had too great a share in them. It is true, that some excellent new tunes are thus

* 1. *Christian Hymns for Public and Private Worship.* A Collection compiled by a COMMITTEE OF THE CHESHIRE PASTORAL ASSOCIATION. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1845. 16mo. pp. 454.

2. *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns for the Sanctuary.* Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1845. 12mo. pp. 586.

3. *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns for Social and Private Worship.* Revised Edition. With Supplement. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1845. 12mo. pp. 520.

4. *Hymns for Public Worship.* Boston: Andrews, Prentiss & Studley. 1845. 16mo. pp. 416.

5. *A Manual of Prayer, for Public and Private Worship, with a Collection of Hymns.* Second Edition. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1845. 12mo. pp. 394.

6. *The Psalmist: A new Collection of Hymns for the use of the Baptist Churches.* By BARON STOW and S. F. SMITH. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1845. 16mo. pp. 784.

7. *Psalms and Hymns, for Christian Use and Worship;* prepared and set forth by the GENERAL ASSOCIATION of Connecticut. New Haven: Durrie & Peck. 1845. 16mo. pp. 720.

8. *Church Psalmist: or Psalms and Hymns, for the Public, Social, and Private Use of Evangelical Christians.* Fifth Edition. New York: Mark H. Newman. 1845. 16mo. pp. 653.

9. *Hymns and Anthems.* London: 1841. 16mo. pp. 120.

added to the common stock ; and what is still better, some fine old cathedral strains have been awakened from their long silence to inspire the devotions of modern assemblies. It is true, also, that some varieties of measure and tone unknown to former choirs were needed, to bring into vocal expression the fresh stores of sacred poetry, and to match with the demands that the prevailing use of the organ has introduced into our churches. We do not say that great improvements have not been made in this branch of a divine art, by what has been lately and so abundantly published. We believe that there have. At the same time, we have found something confounding in the accumulation of books of this description. We have watched with no little uneasiness the capricious changes that they have encouraged. We have seen the evils that altered harmonies, changes uncalled for, different pieces under the same names, and the distractions of an almost endless variety, can hardly fail to produce. This will not seem a long digression from the subject we have taken in hand, or indeed hardly a digression at all, if we consider the intimate relation that exists between the words of a hymn, and its musical effect in the tune that has to be adapted to it. We ought to remember, what the compilers of hymn books are very apt to forget, that a hymn is not a copy of irregular lines, that may be clogged with consonants, or broken up with pauses, or stifled with syllables but half vocal, or set on with uneven feet, according to the writer's pleasure. It is not written to be read alone, and by the eye merely, or to be declaimed with the freedom of rhetoric. It is a melodious composition, that should almost sing itself; confined within rhythmical laws of its own, and to be chorally represented. The old masters of holy verse were more attentive to this important point than their successors have for the most part been.

But let us return to the class of books more directly under our review ; especially to those examples of it, which we have placed at the head of this article, and thus bound ourselves to give at least some imperfect account of. On surveying their number, our first impulse was to be glad that so much attention had been given to the good work, and that so many differing voices had been called out to praise God and Christ. There is no danger, no objection

here, of the kind just mentioned. Each hymn book stands single in the society that has adopted it, undisturbed by any divisions or discords. It is almost sure to remain long enough to secure the attachment of those to whom it has grown familiar. It is not likely, at least at the present time, to be an object of pecuniary speculation, or to be touched by any but the highest motives. The most successful compiler can scarcely expect that his labors will travel far beyond those for whose benefit they were prepared. Our congregations are generally slow to encourage changes. Economy, as well as habit and revering associations, will tend to keep them in the use of what is already in their possession. Nevertheless, circumstances are continually arising that make innovations desirable. Hymn books will fall out of print, as they insensibly decline from the estimation in which they were at first held. New societies are forming, that have only to select the one that shall recommend itself the best to their preference. Different religious views, and not only these, but different impressions of the sentiment that a hymn should most suitably convey, will lead to a choice in conformity to them. There can be no doubt, moreover, that improvement will follow in the train of successive attempts. Better arrangements may take the place of those that now seem good enough. A richer copiousness or a more perfect selectness may be exhibited than has ever been yet. Some pieces, even, of the elder day may be presented with more force and beauty, while constant accessions of devout strains, from that fountain of the spirit which is always flowing, will pour their tribute into future repositories and perhaps constitute their chief glory. We believe in progress. The best has not come, and we shall never see it come. Meanwhile, let us receive with courtesy every candidate for so holy an office as that of leading this part of our devotions, examine his claims with candor and discernment, and neither think that the work requires to be hurried nor that it can ever be done.

With these views, we rejoiced, as we have said, to see so large a company coming forward, bringing the results of their industry and taste to a good cause, and into fair competition for public favor. We do not know that this gratification has been materially abated by an examination of

the works themselves. They all have merit, and each one has some point of advantage which it is entitled to claim as peculiarly its own. We were occasionally inclined, indeed, to raise a question, whether this were a well-chosen time to multiply Hymn Books to such an extent, when Dr. Bowring is so busy, and Mr. Montgomery, though he has written several pieces that are eminently good, is enjoying a degree of reputation which we do not think he will permanently retain. This objection, however, seemed to press with less weight, as we thought to make it of very serious importance. Another preliminary question crossed our minds from the circumstance, that but a short time has elapsed since the publication of the "Christian Psalter," of which an extended and most favorable notice appeared in the *Monthly Miscellany* so lately as March, 1842. But we considered the difficulty, if not impossibility, of satisfying all with the same performance. We considered the manifold wants of different congregations. It ought also to be taken into account, that many of our societies have become attached to the Collections that they have had long in use, and prefer making them the basis of an enlarged edition, to introducing an entirely new work. This cause will be seen to have contributed to make the number here before us so large as it is. Nor had it been inactive before, as one or two remarkable instances remind us. This was the case with the excellent though disjointed Collection used by the Church in Brattle Square, which bears upon it the labors, though not the names, of two distinguished pastors, Buckminster and Palfrey, and of which the second edition was issued only ten years ago. It is true also of the very inferior one — as we are compelled to regard it — of the West Church, which appeared in 1823.

Having thus alluded to former endeavors, we hope not to be thought tedious nor to speak irrelevantly, if we review a little what has been otherwise done by our denomination in this department. Fifty years ago, an insensible change of religious views had rendered offensive many of the doctrinal expressions that abound in the writings of Dr. Watts, some of which he would not himself have consented to utter in the latter part of his life. Dr. Belknap, aided silently by Dr. Clarke, then published his "Sacred Poetry," which was received with great approbation and widely

circulated. With the power of its miscellaneous novelty, it displaced, though not so rapidly as we should have supposed, the strong work of that one master-hand. In 1812 a small supplement of twenty-eight hymns was added to it, without increasing in any considerable degree its usefulness, and in this form it continued unchanged, though often reprinted. The book had, however, several grave and essential faults, some of which were pointed out with a sharp criticism in the *Christian Disciple* of 1821, by the compiler, as we believe, of one of the works now brought under our notice. About that time, appeared the New York and Andover Collections, which were both reviewed together in the same volume of the *Disciple* that has just been named. The first of these, though executed with taste and ability, did not spread itself very extensively beyond the church for whose benefit it was originally designed. The second, Mr. Dabney's, if it did not win more praise, found more acceptance. In its original form, and afterwards in an enlarged and improved one, it made its way pretty successfully among our congregations, where it still maintains a place. Nevertheless, there was nothing as yet to take the stand of favor, from which Belknap's Collection had irretrievably fallen. In this state of things, Dr. Greenwood of King's Chapel came forward to supply an acknowledged deficiency, and in 1830 published his "*Psalms and Hymns for Christian Worship*." The book attained at once to an extraordinary success, that was owing both to its real merit and to the beautiful fame of its author. When it came to the sixteenth edition, it was amended by a supplement and by the substitution of a few hymns for others, no further changes being contemplated, and we see it now arrived at its forty-first edition, and introduced into the service of more than seventy worshipping assemblies. This was certainly a great deal to accomplish. But there did not long remain a perfect content. Choirs complained that too many of the pieces could not be easily presented with good musical expression; and preachers thought that they discovered after a time some lack of variety in the topics, and some difficulty in finding such as would correspond to the sentiment of their discourses. Thus it came to be supposed by many, that the book was rather a rich and tasteful repository of sacred verse, than adapted to the

popular want and to constant use. These alleged defects we do not conceive to be altogether imaginary. We are disposed to ascribe to them, more than to any other cause, the great disposition that has been shown to try for something better. We ought not forget, meanwhile, to mention two other works that were nearly contemporary with this,—Dr. Willard's "Hymns," and the Springfield Collection. In the first of these, which was printed in the same year, the venerable author was so governed by his favorite idea of producing "an invariable coincidence between the poetic and the musical emphases," as to sacrifice to it almost everything else, and leave but little emphasis to the poetry. The other, the faithful labor of an accomplished mind, committed a great error, as it always seemed to us, in the unlimited freedom which it allowed itself of altering at pleasure its originals. The "Christian Psalter" of Mr. Lunt may be regarded as the first attempt to meet what seemed to be a new want. He adopted the improvements that had been introduced by his predecessors. He adhered scrupulously to the language of the writers from whom he borrowed, restoring it as far as possible where it had suffered changes. He presented a tabular reference to the Book of Psalms on a single page, instead of breaking up the unity of the whole, and disturbing the arrangement of the parts, by the needless division into psalms and hymns. This was formerly the universal custom, and is retained by two of the three performances not of our denomination, of which the titles are annexed,—that of the General Association of Connecticut, and that "for the use of Evangelical Christians." His method is the most perfect that we have anywhere seen, simple but yet ingenious, novel but natural at the same time, enabling us to turn at once to the subject we are seeking. His judgment has led him to prefer the bold strains and strong Scriptural imagery of the early masters in the art, to the flow, if more graceful, of modern numbers. We are inclined to think that this has given to the "Psalter" an antique air, which, while it is admired by some, fails to commend itself to the choice of others. Hence in part that anxiety to provide further means, which is indicated plainly enough by the occasion of this article.

And this leads us to a general remark, that may as well

be made now. In the latest of the Collections that have been prepared for those churches with which we are associated, we have been struck with the comparatively small number of old hymns. Mr. Ellis's, for instance, has but 110 from Watts, and 60 from Doddridge; and that of the Cheshire Pastoral Association, with 908 pieces, has adopted only 119 from Watts and 47 from Doddridge; while the "Psalter" contains 264 from the chief of that famous duumvirate, and 105 from the other. This fact of itself displays a tendency, much increased of late, not only to welcome worthy new-comers, which should by all means be done, but to make less account of ancient friends; — to change indeed the general character of our church poetry. This may be best, but there will be many who cannot think so, and to whom there is an inexpressible charm in the finest specimens of what has been the longest familiar. An honored antiquity carries something of a title in its own right, especially in matters of this kind. It can make quaint words reverend, and animate common words with a power beyond themselves. This is shown by frequent experience. No doubt the hearts of the followers of the new reformer, John Ronge, are cheered beyond measure, when they intonate the 46th psalm in Father Luther's version. The mere student may feel the force of the same or a like principle, in going back to the Latin hymns of the middle ages. The clang of the old monkish rhymes sounds in his imagination like the bells from some gray abbey or cathedral tower. In three short lines,

"Lignum crucis,
Signum ducis,
Sequitur exercitus,"

he hears the whole history of the sufferings of Christ and the glory that followed. He connects in his mind, and with some reason too, such unpolished strains with the wonders of sculpture and painting that seemed to imitate their spirit. Who can tell what influence the "Dies iræ" may have actually exerted on Michael Angelo's famous fresco of the Last Judgment? Of how many a Madonna and Pietà may the "Stabat mater dolorosa" have been the type! And when he reads their frequent themes of the shortness of life and the vanity of the world, as set forth in the lines of Bernard of Clairvaux,

“Terram teris, terram geris,
 Et in terram reverteris,
 Qui de terra sumeris.
 Cerne quid es, et quid eris;
 Modo flos es, et verteris
 In favillam cineris,”

he feels that, though he may translate them in their full and exact chime, they lose their peculiar effect in another tongue;—

Earth thou wearest, earth thou bearest,
 And to earth thou fast repairest,
 Who from earth wast taken.
 What art thou? and whither farest?
 But a flower, — and, though the rarest,
 Shalt to dust be shaken.

But to return to our retrospect. In the year 1836, a Collection of Hymns was prepared for the worshippers at the Warren Street and Pitts Street Chapels, by Messrs. Barnard, Gray and Weston. It was modestly offered to the public in a simple and cheap form, under the idea that it might prove acceptable in Sunday schools and some of our smaller churches. This hope was not disappointed, as we have now before us the fifth edition of it, with nearly fifty Hymns added. It is exceedingly well adapted to the end for which it was designed, showing good judgment and a true spirit. With a similar purpose, in 1843, Rev. Chandler Robbins brought forward his “Social Hymn-Book,” intended “for vestry meetings, and for parishes that are unable to procure more expensive Collections.” It abounds with devotional feeling. Nothing seems to have been admitted into it, without having first passed slowly not only before the critical eyes but over the heart of the compiler. It misses, to its loss, two pieces of his own, that are printed in the “Hymns for the Sanctuary;” and since he has borrowed so largely from Ancient Hymns, we are a little sorry that he overlooked the very best in the Breviary. It is adopted in almost all the recent publications. Its closing verse we cannot refrain from quoting, as almost a model of style for this kind of composition:

“O righteous Judge! if thou wilt deign
 To grant us what we need,
 We pray for time to turn again,
 And grace to turn indeed.”

The same year, Dr. Flint of Salem issued his "Hymns for the Christian Church and Home," in compliance with a vote of the society, of which he is the pastor. They were desirous of retaining as many hymns as possible of the little Collection that had been heretofore in use, drawn up by Dr. Bentley, his learned predecessor. The facility that is thus furnished for one's task is not wholly without its disadvantage; since, in seeking to please the accustomed ear of parishioners, or to show respect for what has been done before by a revered hand, one is tempted to preserve the pieces that are thought worthy of preservation, rather in the form that is best remembered, than in that which is really the best. Such may have been the case with some of these, as the 290th and 306th. Happily, however, they were for the most part printed correctly at first, few liberties having been taken with the text. We think that Dr. Flint has executed his commission well, and produced what may be valued far beyond the circle of his own charge. Two pieces by Sterling, 221 and 312, we have never seen anywhere else; and we name them as representing a class, that we do not consider it desirable to multiply; being written in a hard style, and without sufficient adaptation either to the powers of a choir or the circumstances of an audience. We are afraid that a still heavier objection would lie against one by Burns, 219, where the penitent seems to us to be rather palliating his sin, than crying for mercy. But we can sincerely say on the whole, that if we were among those who are to have the advantage of sitting under the ministerial instructions of Dr. Flint, we should be perfectly contented and happy to carry into the new church, which we hope will soon be auspiciously consecrated, this book that is to lead a part of its devotions. — Something over a year ago came out a "Service Book, for the use of the Church of the Disciples." A Collection of 381 Hymns constituted a part of it, and an excellent part. The compiler enters on his task with the artless confession, that "of making many Hymn Books there is no end." He tells us that he has been guided by "a principle of omission rather than of selection;" aiming "not at a variety of thought, but at a fulness of sentiment." He has happily attained the object he sought. He has edited a book of no

common stamp, which every lover of ecclesiastical poetry will find profit and delight in reading.

It is now time to confine our attention to the particular works of which we proposed to give some account. The preliminary remarks that we have offered, if rather long in comparison with all the rest that our limits will allow us to say, have not, we hope, been irrelevant, as they will serve to point out the general rules by which our judgment has been guided.

The first on our list is that compiled by Rev. Messrs. Livermore, Leonard, Whitwell and Cutler, on behalf of the Cheshire Pastoral Association. It has the merit of great copiousness. It comprises within an exceedingly moderate compass an unusually large number of pieces, in the most various styles, and suited to every subject. It abounds, more than any other with which we are acquainted, in pieces that are intended to meet particular occasions. In these ways it is both rich and cheap. Its materials have been gathered together with the utmost diligence, as may be seen by a glance at the catalogue of its contributors. Every one may find his friends there, good friends too, and some whose names are not apt to figure in such a connexion. We have been surprised at the range that it has taken, and the excellent gleanings it has contrived to find where we had supposed the whole harvest to be over. We must acknowledge that we felt some regret at missing, in the midst of such abundance, not a few of our chief old favorites. Tate and Brady are allowed to appear in it but nine times. If we were disposed to find any fault, it would be with what is likely to recommend it to many, the modern air that everywhere surrounds it. Even where we have been attracted with some show of antiquity, the promise was not always kept; Milton's portion of "No war nor battle's sound" ceasing entirely with the first stanza, and all the rest but poorly conforming to that grand outset. Still, it is full of spirit and of good things. It is destined, we doubt not, to a large share of popularity. It deserves to have it. We hope to see this prediction of ours fulfilled.*

Of Mr. Ellis's "Collection of Psalms and Hymns for the

* Even while we are writing, this prophecy seems about coming to pass. A new edition, and that the fourth, just appears from the press, in larger type and a handsomer form.

Sanctuary" we should be glad to say more than the limits of these notices will permit. It is larger and sightlier than that just spoken of, though instead of 908 hymns it contains but 658. It is preceded by very considerable selections from the Psalms, so arranged as to be chanted by the choir, or to be read and sung responsively; in which case the minister and people on one side, and the music on the other, take up alternate verses. This we look upon as a beautiful addition, if it can be successfully put in use. The compiler has given us an account of the principles that guided him, in a manly preface, the spirit of which we heartily accord with, though it puts in its claim for a latitude in making alterations, which we can with difficulty admit. Indeed, this latitude has led to what we cannot but consider a blemish in his excellent book. It departs too often and widely, as we think, from the original authors. This may be owing chiefly to the fact, that it was prepared to take the place of the Springfield Collection, now out of print, in the Harvard church. It naturally adopted much from it, and as naturally accepted it in the same form in which it found it; and that, as was remarked above, was far from allowing the poet to speak for himself. One may perceive, even from a slight examination of it, that, though it has selected its contents from the most various quarters, it has drawn from two main sources of supply. These are the Collection just named and that of Dr. Greenwood, who on the contrary imposed upon himself pretty rigorously the rule, to alter as little as possible, and to have every hymn "really the production of the individual whose name is placed over it." This rule was adhered to in the Christian Psalter with a still more scrupulous tenacity, and it appears to us to be a just one. Not that we would have it so inviolable as never to be broken. Good as it is, it may be overstrained. But it should prevent such representations of Watts as we find, for example, at 464. And now that we have named again that great psalmist, we feel obliged to say that we have looked in vain in this Collection for some of his verses that we have been accustomed to prize as among the best. For these, and the like of them, we would gladly give up such pieces as 177, Bowring's, 276, Milman's, 533, Montgomery's, 178, H. K. White's, and

especially 491, Hutton's, where the "flowers of Lebanon decay" under the rebuke of Jehovah,

"Which bids the rocks to overturn."

Lest we should seem to be in the vein of fault-finding, we will sum up at once all we have to say of this kind, and turn to the pleasanter part of our duty. We are of opinion, then, that a greater share of attention might usefully have been given to the question of fitness for being sung; since many a beautiful devotional poem that delights in the closet, is wholly unavailable for the church. We have thought also, that there were more pieces than we could desire of a descriptive character, and of those that seem rather to preach than to worship. In the future copies, which we hope will be a great many, we would venture to suggest that a tabular index to the Psalms would be a convenient addition. Meanwhile, let us make haste to declare that there is no one of the books, whose titles are copied above, that we are ready to prefer to this. It contains about sixty pieces, that were quite new to us, and many of them well worthy to shine anywhere. No other has presented Milton to us so nobly. Take for instance the 51st and the glorious 291st, that make the heart bound at them. The 238th also, the famous "nativity," we have here in that altered form, but yet of truly Miltonic cast, for which we presume we are indebted to Dr. Peabody of Springfield. We should like to dwell longer in commendation, but are admonished that our space is becoming narrow.

A revised edition of the New York Hymn Book, with a Supplement, appears after an interval of exactly a quarter of a century. We had something to say at that time of what we considered to be the merits of the first edition, and these are certainly much increased in the new one. The forty hymns that have been substituted in the place of as many taken out, are improvements, without a single exception. The few alterations that have been made have been very judiciously done, as we are glad to exemplify in the old 100th psalm, which is here brought back to its primitive form and power. One does not easily amend the phraseology of Watts; who deserves, we have often thought, the expression that Homer loves to employ in speaking of his gods and heroes, calling them not simply Hercules or

Menelaus, but *the force* of Hercules and Menelaus. The Supplement, consisting of one hundred and forty-six hymns, has been made up, according to our judgment, in excellent taste. We ought to acknowledge, therefore, that we have in this an admirable volume. At the same time it is exceedingly injured for the pulpit by disposing its contents in the very worst method that was ever devised, the alphabetical one. As each part is distributed into three divisions, here are six several courses of the alphabet, according to the initial letter of each first line. We are afraid that nothing can perfectly redeem such a mistake. We are not able to agree with our friend, the compiler, — we wish with all our heart we could, — that the new indexes, though we are thankful for them, can obviate all the inconveniences that arise from so artificial an arrangement.

Next in order comes a "Selection of Hymns" by Rev. Mr. Briggs of Plymouth. He tells us in his preface that his object is "to bring together the most fervent expressions of a profound spiritual life;" and he has planned his arrangement in conformity to such a design, making it "represent as far as possible the different steps in the progress of the spiritual life." After such an exposition of his views, we should know in general what to expect; and when we find that 74 hymns out of the 601 are from the Wesleys and Wesleyans, we may gain some insight of the manner in which that expectation is to be fulfilled. We feel obliged to him for introducing to us so many spirited and affecting expressions of a devout soul, many of which we had never seen before; and some, for which we do not know now to whom we are obliged. At the same time we must acknowledge that he seems to us to have placed himself too much under the dominion of a single set of ideas. We cannot altogether approve the method that he has chosen, for the very reason that it follows those ideas out so faithfully. Abounding as his book does in spiritual graces, we doubt whether it has that variety which is wanted to make it wear well. Too great a portion of it is marked with the same character. We want the relief of change. Anything like monotony is dangerous in a work that is to stand public use from week to week. It is like passing from one house to another, and continually finding almost the same company, which may grow wearisome, however excel-

lent it may be. We repeat that we admire the spirit that breathes and kindles over the whole, but it wants more tongues; it is not "many-voiced" enough for us. Mrs. Hemans and Mr. Keble, and other favorite authors of the editor, though they are favorites with us also, appear rather too often. We will only add that the singers are likely to be sometimes perplexed in performing their part of the duty that a new hymn-book brings with it. They could scarcely get along with the 321st, in which the last line of the first verse falls two syllables short of the appointed measure. In mentioning this, however, we ought to add, in justice to the writer of that hymn, that it appears both in the Cheshire Collection and that of Mr. Ellis not only without that defect, but otherwise greatly improved.

Mr. Eliot, of St. Louis in Missouri, who, though so far from us, has his praise in all our churches, published in 1842 a *Manual of Prayer* for public and private worship, with a small Collection of 65 hymns appended. We welcome now a second edition, of twice the dimensions of the first. The ritual part remains the same as before, but the number of hymns is extended to 272. And they are good hymns, well and discreetly chosen from a great variety of writers, and conveniently disposed. We heartily wish that this service-book for the churches may be introduced into a great many of them, both in the West and the East. We are well aware that a liturgy has sometimes been jocosely called a lethargy; and we have been told by those with whom we are most apt to agree in opinion, that the form of prayer kills the preaching. We admit that there is a danger here, but we deny that there is a doom. We are sure that it has not killed or even hurt *his* preaching, and we give a welcome to his book. Its liturgy,—and we rather like one,—cannot but be useful in the cause of religion, wherever it is read. Its sacred poetry is suited to lift up the heart with the voice, wherever sung. By combining the two in one volume, it presents together all that is necessary for the comely and effective conducting both of general and family worship. In addition to the whole, are Selections from the Psalms of David, arranged for responses or chanting. These are precisely the same that we have spoken of before in connexion with the "*Hymns for the Sanctuary.*"

We come now to three books, in which we may be supposed to take less interest. They belong to denominations, that are kindred to each other, but separate from us. As we open them, we cannot but be struck with the different impression that is made upon us. The air about us seems to grow heavy, and we walk in a light that has changed color and is suffering something like an eclipse. Nothing convinces us more than this contrast does of the diversity, in taste as well as opinion, between Christian truth as we receive it, and as it is embraced by our brethren who are called orthodox. These three works resemble each other closely in several respects. They are all inordinately large. The Baptist Collection, the "Psalmist," numbers 1180 pieces, besides the doxologies, and 52 more for chanting. We cannot count them so easily in the other two, as they do not run continuously, but are distinguished into psalms and hymns. The books, however, are at least as thick, one containing 652, and the other upwards of 700 closely printed pages. They all have this feature in common, that they are neither of them the achievement of a single hand, nor do they come before the world simply on their own responsibility. One owes itself to a "Committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S."; another to the "General Association of Connecticut"; and the other, though independently prepared by Rev. Messrs. Stow and Smith, appears under the sanction of the "Board of Directors of the American Baptist Publication and Sunday School Society." They all present themselves, therefore, with some authority. Nine Baptist clergymen, from South Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Ohio, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and New York, have examined and recommended the "Psalmist," and a fac-simile of their signatures is attached to their certificate. Five distinguished names from our sister State are affixed in like form to the preface of the "General Association." The "Church Psalmist," of which this is the fifth edition, shows no less than fifteen names, some of them quite celebrated, appended to its "Advertisement." These, however, are but accidents, though accidents that have a certain alliance together; for books could hardly fail to be large, that were to meet the wishes, and suggestions too, of so great a number of persons. They are alike, however, in other ways. They all assign a

particular department for the worship of "the Trinity," which is certainly a doctrine of inference merely where it is acknowledged to be true, and which the highest orthodoxy, that can be satisfied with the Scriptures, does not pretend to find under that generic title. They all adopt a style of expression concerning sacrifice and atonement, which, though much softened from what it was, has still a repulsive sound to our ears. That offensive hymn of Cowper, for instance, beginning,

"There is a fountain fill'd with blood,
Drawn from Immanuel's veins,"

is not wanting in either of them. They all allow themselves in representations of Providence and man that are little consistent with our habits of thought. And yet it has been very gratifying to see what improvement they have made in these respects beyond the ancient times. We find nothing near so harsh as we had to bear formerly. Not one of these compilations brings before the present public those enormities of Watts, that used to harrow former generations. Not one ventures to touch the terrible hymn that begins,

"My thoughts on awful subjects roll,
Damnation and the dead."

Not one retains any portion of that, of which the first verse is,

"Well, the Redeemer's gone
T' appear before our God,
To sprinkle o'er the flaming throne
With his atoning blood."

Not one, in describing the divine judgments, has anything the least resembling the ferocious hymn, the 44th of the 2d book, which we dare do no more than thus point at. Even,

"Blood has a voice to pierce the skies,"

is nowhere found, but has given place to milder expositions, even if it be of the same doctrine. We rejoice to pay this just commendation. We rejoice still more, that in paying it we recognize the progress that is making in a true religious refinement in all quarters. We ascribe this progress in a great degree to the theological institutions and the means of general instruction, which are everywhere encouraged.

Learning is honored in sects that once strove to be independent of it. Sacred studies are pursued in companionship, and with the lights of the world around them, and so lose the scholasticism of the cloister. They mingle with the literature of the time, and the science that is above the prejudice or fashions of any time; with the philosophy of beauty, and the reverence of art; and so shoot out into a free and graceful culture. We do not feel called upon to express any opinion as to the relative merits of these three books. It might not seem sufficiently modest; and more than that, it would not be very easy. We are persuaded, that they are all a great deal better than what has been displaced to make room for them. We have no doubt that they will satisfy entirely the wants of the congregations, for which they have severally been prepared. The Baptist Collection enjoys an advantage in having one of its compilers himself a poet, who is held in estimation beyond the borders of his own sect. No less than nine of his hymns have been introduced into the full ranks of the Committee of the Cheshire Pastoral Association. We may add, that it has gathered its ingredients with at least as liberal a search and culling as its companions. We have even thought that it owed something to the influences of the neighborhood in which it was produced.

The little book called "Hymns and Anthems" stands in strange contrast with its somewhat clumsy associates just noticed. It is indeed a little one, containing but one hundred and fifty pieces, and those for the most part of extreme brevity, some of them literally but three or four lines long. It is delicately printed too, after the newest English fashion. It may be thought scarcely to come within the fair scope of our present article, being a foreigner and four years old. But it has some interest for us, as having been made for the chapel of the celebrated W. J. Fox of London; and besides this, it possesses a character that is peculiarly its own. It departs widely from all that we have been accustomed to consider as the proprieties of a hymn-book. It is composed of rhymes, blank verse, and plain prose. Among its contributors we find Goethe and the Prophet Habakkuk, St. Gregory and Lord Morpeth, St. John and Lord Byron, King David and Percy B. Shelley. Lines from Shakspeare's *Tempest* are found on the same page with lines from Alfred

Tennyson. The Roman Breviary and Coleridge's Ancient Mariner alike bring something to its net. Some of our own poets are there, — Bryant, Longfellow, Pierpont, Bulfinch and W. B. O. Peabody. It is certainly none the worse, but all the better for these. We do not know that we can say so much for 123, which begins :

“ Britain's first poet,
Famous old Chaucer,
Swan-like in dying
Sung his last song,
When at his heart-strings
Death's hand was strong.”

With all this, it is not so altogether an oddity as our readers might fancy from our description. We have read in it some charming things, that we would rather see here than not see at all. Several of these gems are by Mr. Fox himself, Robert Nicoll, Ebenezer Elliot and Miss Sarah F. Adams. The choicest of them may be found set among the brilliants, or rather the pearls, of the “Disciples' Hymn Book,” to which we referred just now. What can be finer in its kind than the concluding piece, by the minister of Finsbury Chapel?

“ Call them from the dead
For our eyes to see ? ”

In fact, we should love it exceedingly, if it were only called Sacred Jewelry, and kept upon the parlor table. As it is, we fear that it indicates an apostasy, more serious than its own, from ancient ideas and the consecrated forms of worship. It is divided into two “books,” for what reason we know not, since the pieces are numbered in sequence, and flow on without much attempt at order. We surmise, however, as the cause, that when the work was printed, only the first half of it had been furnished with music ; for there was an obvious necessity in most cases to have the tunes made expressly for the words. This has been done so far as the first book goes, and duly recorded in the index. But when we come to the second, we are told that the musical arrangements and adaptations for it were not quite completed. From all this it is plain, that a chief part of the design has been, to produce striking effects from the orchestra. We need not say what strong

objections, in our judgment, lie against the introduction of such artistical refinements into religious services. There is no temptation in our country, certainly at present, to imitate so ambitious an example. But we take this opportunity to utter our protest against any innovations, that would tend to *unchurch* the sanctuary; that would turn the house of God either into an oratorical theatre or a concert-room.

N. L. F.

ART. IV.—DUTY OF AMERICAN WOMEN.*

THE object of this appeal is to rouse American women on a subject of great importance, and particularly to draw their attention to an attempt which many ladies of different states and denominations are now making, “to promote popular education by the agency of American women.” It is intended so to conduct this enterprise, that “every woman, of whatever character or standing, may feel an interest in it, and do something to sustain it,” while “no one is made prominent.” A Committee of gentlemen of six different religious denominations have consented to act for those who originated the plan, and among others, they recommend the immediate and universal circulation of this appeal, as one of the best preliminary measures.

The work itself, which we are thus called upon to bring under the notice of as many readers as possible, seems to us written with a high object, considerable ability, and admirable adaptation to its purpose. We think those who cry out, ‘what! is there not enough done yet for popular education; is not this country remarkable for the opportunities of instruction laid before all classes?’ will be silenced, when they read the startling facts presented in this little book. The statistical details form a solid foundation on which an appeal to the good sense of the reader rests firmly; and we think none who read the address candidly, can doubt that the danger is as great, the emergency as pressing, and the duty of prompt effort as imperative, as they are represented.

* *The Duty of American Women to their Country.* New York: Harper & Brothers. 1845. 18mo. pp. 164.

Neither do we think the plan proposed can seem chimerical to any fair-minded reader, unprejudiced against philanthropic schemes in general, and female projects in particular.

We have heard that a critic, in speaking of this book, remarked, "I wish women would let the French Revolution alone; they are not competent to meddle with such a mighty theme." The author of the appeal is probably quite aware, that a profound knowledge of history and of human nature is essential to any one who would go deeply into the "mighty theme;" that no single cause brought the curse of the Reign of Terror upon the fair land of France, and that it would be unwise and unfair to point out any solitary source of such a deluge of evil, as implying that none others existed. Miss Beecher, who is known as the author, does not do this, nor attempt to grasp the whole subject. We cannot see why one indubitable cause of that great historical event may not be treated of, and the event itself used as an illustration of consequences, by a female pen, if the connection be distinctly shown. It does not seem to us that she has gone either beyond her province or her ability. She has not undertaken to give us a history of the reign of terror, with all that introduced or terminated it, but in a concise and striking sketch shows that "a people without education have not intelligence enough to know what measures will secure safety and prosperity, nor virtue enough to pursue even what they know to be right; so that, when possessed of power, they will adopt ruinous measures, be excited by base passions, and be governed by wicked and cruel men." She employs the French Revolution simply as an illustration of this truth. Could she have found a fairer or a stronger one? Has she not a right to use the warning it conveys?

The next point is, that our republic, like the French, is actually in danger from a people without sufficient intelligence and virtue. She exposes the hollowness of our boastings on this very subject of general education. She is willing to do justice to the past, for she opens her statements thus: —

"What then, has saved our country from those wide sweeping horrors, that desolated France? Why is it that in the excitements of embargos, and banks, and slavery, and abolition, and foreign immigration, the besom of destruction has not swept

over the land? It is because there has been such a large body of educated citizens, who have had intelligence enough to understand how to administer the affairs of state, and a proper sense of the necessity of sustaining law and order; who have had moral principle enough to subdue their own passions, and to use their influence to control the excited minds of others." — p. 31.

None, we suppose, can doubt that when this state of things shall pass away, blessing and prosperity will pass with it. — Our attention is then called to alarming facts.

"What, then, are our prospects in this respect?" — "Look at the indications in our census. In a population of fourteen millions, we find one million adults who cannot read and write, and two millions of children without schools. In a few years, then, if these children come on the stage with their present neglect, we shall have three millions of adults managing our state and national affairs, who cannot even read the Constitution they swear to support, nor a word in the Bible, nor any newspaper or book. Look at the West, where our dangers from foreign immigration are greatest, and which by its unparalleled increase is soon to hold the sceptre of power. In Ohio, more than one third of the children attend no school. In Indiana and Illinois scarcely one half the children have any schools. Missouri and Iowa send a similar or worse report. In Virginia, *one quarter* of the white adults cannot even write their names to their applications for marriage licenses. In North Carolina, *more than half* the adults cannot read and write. The whole South, in addition to her hordes of ignorant slaves, returns more than half her white children without schools." — p. 33.

Well may she exclaim, with these facts,

"My countrywomen, what is before us? Intelligence and virtue our only safeguards, and yet all this mass of ignorance among us, and hundreds of thousands of ignorant foreigners being yearly added to augment our danger!" — p. 34.

Symptoms of the perils of which we are thus warned already manifest themselves in various parts of the country. That there is great corruption in political life, and that party spirit rages like a frenzy, all parties allow. But nations flourish outwardly long after these diseases have begun to consume their vitals. Are there no tokens of other penalties, of sudden and violent convulsions that may rend the body politic, break up and ruin public and private prosperity? Men engrossed with the cares of each day as it comes, immersed in business, or whirled along by political excitements, pause not to examine, and inquire what

these tokens mean. But the timid, nay, the thoughtful and observing, with a wise courage, look out anxiously on the scenes enacted in various parts of these United States ; and as dismal tidings of riots, disturbances, and violent proceedings come wafted in upon "paper wings" from all quarters, they rise from the perusal with saddened hearts. They perceive that, if we have among us no titled nobility, education and wealth are fast constituting a privileged class, likely to be in a position every way as dangerous, objects of a jealousy which may be nourished into hatred and fury by demagogues, as soon as the majority of the ignorant and poor is large enough to supply engines of destruction. They need no prophet to come from the mountains and cry, "wo !" as did the ghastly prophet among the people of Granada. If benevolence will not do it, why will not interest rouse the educated to strain every nerve, that they may ever be an immense majority ? Let them see to it, that the multitude have knowledge, religion and morals spread wide among them, and the poverty of that multitude will give them little trouble. Industry among the people follows intelligence and virtue as surely as day follows night, and leads worldly prosperity among them with a quiet, sure step. And yet how many who acknowledge this duty, think the acknowledgment enough ; utter the truism, and then turn away as if saying, "I have no more to do with it."

To rouse the wealthy and educated classes from their "selfish apathy," Miss Beecher makes a bold appeal. She rises, too, nobly beyond sectarian principles, and we rejoice especially to hear from such a quarter such a suggestion as this :— "When the same influence and efforts are directed to educate our two millions of American children, as are now directed to establishing missions among the Heathen, our country may escape the yawning abyss now gaping to destroy."

The liberality which seems to characterize the author of this volume has a strong claim upon all enlightened minds, and we do pray that narrower and more timid counsels may never affect any who, in native strength or under holy influences, have risen above them. Let such not be ashamed of their own Christian charity and freedom from sectarian prejudice, nor anxious about its consequences. It

is too full of Christ's own spirit not to be followed by his blessing. If they are confident that the work in which they seek human cooperation is God's work, let them rejoice in all who are prompted to take an interest in it, and banish distrust, jealousy, and scorn of those who would be their fellow-laborers. We repeat our strong hope, that those who are disposed to act with liberality as regards sectarianism, in this enterprise, will not shrink in consequence of an outcry among those who have not yet reached so high a standard, fearing that the cause may lose popularity and suffer. They *know* that their own ground is the high, the true, the Christian ground; and there let them plant their cause, with a rational hope of success. Instead of falling back to the multitude, let them have the moral courage to summon the multitude up to them. They have the opportunity of doing a double work of usefulness, for they can hardly confer a greater blessing on the community than by making the members of various religious denominations know each other better and love each other more. We are convinced that much of the religious intolerance and uncharitableness which grieve pious hearts, does honestly proceed from misapprehension. Those that work together for holy objects will learn to understand each other, and as they draw nearer each other, will also approach their common Master.

And now we introduce the paragraphs which we consider among the most important in the book.

"Look then at the work to be done. Two millions of destitute children to be supplied with schools! To meet this demand, sixty thousand teachers, and fifty thousand school-houses are required. Or if we can afford to leave half of them to grow up in ignorance, and educate only the other half, thirty thousand teachers and twenty-five thousand school-houses must be provided, and that too *within twelve years*. The census calculates the children between four and sixteen, and in twelve years most of these children will be beyond the reach of school instruction, while other millions, treading on their heels, will demand still greater supplies."

"Where are we to raise such an army of teachers? Not from the sex which finds it so much more honorable, easy, and lucrative, to enter the many roads to wealth and honor open in this land. But few will turn from these to the humble, unhonored toils of the school-room and its penurious reward."

“It is *woman* who is to come in at this emergency, and meet this demand; woman, whom experience and testimony have shown to be the best, as well as the cheapest guardian and teacher of childhood, in the school as well as the nursery.”

“Women, then, are to be educated for teachers, and sent to the destitute children of this nation by hundreds and thousands. This is the way in which *a profession* is to be created for woman, a profession as honorable and lucrative for her as the legal, medical, and theological for men. This is the way in which thousands of intelligent and respectable women who toil for a pittance barely sufficient to sustain life, are to be relieved and elevated.” — pp. 62, 63.

Here is the double action of this most benevolent project. Who that has taken any interest beyond his own household, has not lamented that there were so few occupations above the menial, by which a female might support herself? Who cannot point out, perhaps among his own kindred, more than one “poor lady,” — terms which convey the image of a position most awkward, painful, and hopeless! A blessing indeed will it be when a fitting channel is opened, in which may flow the tide of female activity, benevolence, and talent, now stagnating in many a town or village, and when the industrious minds and hands now reluctantly idle, may find a fresh field of useful occupation thrown open, and escape the horrors of dependence.

It has been shown that female teachers are wanted by thousands in this country. In this country also are vast numbers of women who not only might use, but do absolutely need this opportunity of employment. And the difficulty has been, how to fit the angles and corners of these two great wants together, so that both may be supplied. It is precisely this work which the plan now introduced is to accomplish, and we rejoice that an experiment has already been commenced in Cincinnati. There, as we understand, the work of preparing females to become teachers in places barren of all other sources of education, is actually begun; and when prepared, these courageous young women are to be placed wherever the superintendents of the work may consider them most likely to be useful. On these superintendents will devolve great labor and responsibility, and it is right that they should be selected from well-known individuals, in whom the public may reasonably be expected to place confidence.

The following is from the Circular which has lately appeared, in connexion with this work.

"It is proposed that about thirty women of the proper spirit and qualifications should assemble this autumn or winter in Cincinnati, to remain two months or more, as may be deemed expedient. Mrs. H. B. Stowe and Miss C. E. Beecher, under the direction of the Committee, (Rev. Dr. Elliott, Rev. Dr. Lynde, Rev. Bishop Smith, Rev. Jas. H. Perkins, Rev. Dr. McGuffey, Rev. Prof. C. E. Stowe,) will take the responsibility of preparing them for their peculiar duties; and then it is expected that the clergymen and home missionaries of various denominations will aid in securing their appropriate location, and cooperate in their labors."

Many will be the qualifications required for such teachers, and it may be easily seen that a peculiar preparation will be requisite for such a peculiar work. A self-devoting spirit there must be, the heart of a Xavier or a Fry; and not less, a competent judgment. It may be said that no teaching can bestow these. Those who have not the former, will soon retire; those who have not the latter, may learn how to supply the deficiency, partially, by patience, humility and caution. Into the particulars of this whole plan we will not enter, because to many they may seem chimerical, and they can be easily ascertained by those in whom any interest is awakened. Money — alas! if benevolent works could only be carried on without money! — money will be wanted, but we are agreeably surprised by the statement, that "it is calculated that, on an average, one hundred dollars will pay all the expenses of each teacher for travelling, board, preparation, and location."

Whatever may be thought of the details of the project, all must like the spirit of the address, because it is fair, and it is modest. It exaggerates nothing, and it displaces nothing. Its author is not one of those reformers who begin by tearing down. Nor would she have women undertake what can and will be accomplished as well without them, nor touch what men can do better than they can. She gives patriotism a place among feminine virtues, though women are apt to consider it a masculine one; yet she would not have them think it acts only in times of great trouble, and only manifests itself in a Judith, Boadicea, or Maid of Saragossa. She would have us know that it may

animate the bosom of a school-mistress in a country village, and evidently understands that it is not a thing separate from all other forms of virtue; but that she is in fact the best patriot, who most faithfully discharges every known duty, even the humblest. Love of country is appealed to only as an additional stimulus, a fresh motive for exertion. Will not the virtues of every woman who can be roused to such broad and generous views of life as to glow with the love of her country, be of a high and noble cast? We fear it would be difficult in this whole country, where politics are a chief topic of conversation, to find any large class of women who ever think of their having any duty whatever as citizens. And yet, if it be a fact that a woman owes something to her country no less than a man, she can no more escape from this duty than from any other. Those who have not thought upon the matter, and therefore do not know whether they have any duty of the kind or not, are clearly bound to do this much—examine the subject. The bare intimation, that something which God requires us to do may be lying unnoticed and neglected by our side, ought to startle every conscientious woman into immediate search for it. And it will.

We have expressed a fear that this volume will be received with apathy. Many will not read it, or what is as bad, will read it carelessly, misunderstanding some parts, and taking in its solemn and weighty import but partially. But let those who feel the force of its statements do something for the cause, in some of the various ways which Miss Beecher indicates so judiciously; at least express their sympathy warmly, and so thaw others. In this power of expression, few women are wholly deficient. If any think their capacity for action straitened by circumstances, they are under the more obligation to interest others, if possible, who can act. Their sphere of influence may be narrow, yet who knows that they may not casually present the subject to some human being, who will take a deep interest in it, be blessed with opportunities, and eventually become a blessing to the cause?

The Appendix to this work contains one note which we cannot fairly pass without comment. In "note A" the author, having "presented a mode of religious training adapted to schools composed of children whose parents are

of different sects," adds a modification, which, we think, destroys the claim of the work to an exemption of the best kind. It is not exempt from sectarianism, and we are disappointed. Doubly so; because although we believe Miss Beecher to be above the desire of inculcating sectarian views on the present occasion, others will come to a different conclusion; and because we are sure that the perusal of this note will hinder, more than it will help, a noble cause. It is true, she cautiously states that "this modification she wishes to present to that class of parents who not only believe in the Supreme Divinity of Jesus Christ, but are in the habit of addressing their worship to Him distinctively." But are these parents the only individuals into whose hands the work will pass, into whose she wishes and earnestly seeks to have it pass? Does she not openly desire its circulation and perusal, and a cooperation with its designs, among all religious denominations? We do not deny her right to insert such a page for the use of the readers whom she designates, but considering the work as avowedly intended for the whole public, and bearing in mind its claim to something above the diffusion of doctrines, we doubt her wisdom. Had a benevolent individual of the Unitarian denomination devised this plan, written this book, and sent it abroad in a similar manner, containing a page or two of strong, distinct Unitarianism, would not its circulation among other sects have been injured by it? Would Miss Beecher and her friends have been ready to place it in the hands of all whom they could reach? Would they have pronounced it right in the Unitarian, thus to use the opportunity of bringing his peculiar views before those who shun them?

Still it must be remembered that the passage to which we object is not in the body of the work, and ought not to interfere with its usefulness. We have spoken of it, not so much from any sensitiveness of our own, as from a knowledge of the general state of feeling on these delicate points, among all denominations. God speed the time when a simple, fervent, all-prevailing desire to serve the Lord and do good, shall amalgamate Christians into one humble, peaceful company of heaven-bound pilgrims, cheering each other on, instead of pausing to question and differ.

L. J. H.

ART. V. — ON CHRISTIAN UNION.

IN proposing to offer some remarks on Christian union, our minds naturally recur to that remarkable prayer of our Lord, as the very text and guide of our meditations:—
“Neither pray I for these alone, but for those also who shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us; that the world may know that thou hast sent me.”

The question naturally arises in the mind — a question which we would ask reverently — has this prayer been answered? If it has, Christian union must be something different from what it has been commonly thought to be. Christians have not been agreed upon points either of doctrine, of ritual, or of Church government. If agreement upon any of these subjects be the oneness which our Saviour prayed for, then his prayer has not been answered; there has been no such agreement. In the earliest age, Arians and Trinitarians, and other successive parties separated by nice metaphysical distinctions; then, the Roman and Greek Churches; afterwards, the Catholics and Protestants; and since, many Protestant sects, — Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Pedobaptists, Wesleyan, and Whitfieldian Methodists, Calvinists, Arminians, Pelagians; these have divided into almost endless partitions the visible domain of the Christian Church.

Let us then proceed to inquire into this great question, what *is* the Christian union? It is a question that has perplexed all times, and seems not yet to be settled, or at least not to have obtained any unanimity, among Christians. It might be argued by some, in a spirit unfriendly to Christianity, that since Christians have not agreed yet as to what their appropriate union is, there can have been no union whatever among them. But we think it will be found that there *is* a union, and always has been, of which they have less distinctly thought. Philosophers have not yet agreed what light and heat are, but still light and heat exist, notwithstanding all their disputes about them. What is the principle that draws and holds the planets in their orbits, men of science have not determined, and they have had

many theories about it ; but the attraction has been none the less certain for that.

But to proceed ; with regard to Christian union, three grounds have been taken. The first makes union to consist in having one visible Church and one visible head ; the second, in a sufficient doctrinal agreement ; the third, in the simple reception of Christ and of his spirit. Of these three kinds of union, the first is organic ; the second speculative ; the third moral or spiritual. Neither of the first two, it is true, proposes to exclude the last ; but each one insists upon its own peculiar view as essential to Christian union ; while the last rejects them both, — that is, as being necessary, — maintaining that the simple faith in Christ and likeness to him are enough to make a man a Christian and to place him in the Christian brotherhood. Of these three grounds the first is occupied by the Catholics, who demand a visible uniformity and a common subjection to the Roman Pontiff ; the second, by the predominant Protestant sects, who require an agreement in what are called fundamental articles of faith ; and the third, by a large and increasing body of Christians, who maintain that the only legitimate bonds of Christian union are those good and pure affections which gather around the Christ and the Christian teaching, and are witnessed by a Christian life.

We have said that this union has been placed by Christians upon three distinct, formal grounds, — organic, doctrinal, and spiritual ; or Catholic, Protestant, and ultra-Protestant. We may farther observe, to pass from the form to the nature of it, that this union must be one of two kinds, speculative or moral. That is to say, it must be founded on opinions, or affections ; on creed, or character. The one attaches to the first two grounds ; the other to the third. To accept the constitution and government of the Catholic Church, or to accept the fundamental articles of the predominant Protestant sects, is an office of the understanding. To recognise the living Christ, as our Saviour, Guide, Example, is the part of the affections.

Is the union of Christians — that oneness for which Christ prayed — a speculative, or a moral union ? Now we are prepared to answer ; not the first certainly, for no such union ever has existed. If it be this, Christ's prayer has not been answered ; for there is no agreement among

Christians about creed, church order, or ritual ; and some have rejected them all. For instance, the Friends ; and will any one deny that the Friends are Christians ? And yet they have had neither creed nor priesthood nor sacrament. And that which has not been, in the nature of things cannot be. In matters of mere opinion, difference is inevitable, union is impossible. Men's minds never can agree. But with the heart it is not so. Its judgments are far clearer, and scarcely admit of any material difference. The beauty of the life of Christ, the love of God and of men, penitence, humility, patience, self-denial, justice, truth-telling, forgiveness of injuries — all these things are very plain. In regard to these there has been union among Christians. Is not this the union, then, for which Christ prayed ?

Consider, further, how he describes the union he prayed for. "As thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they may be one in us." Can any one doubt that this is a union in love ? It were irreverent to ask, if this is an agreement in speculative views. No ; it is a union in love. We cannot, we dare not think it any other.

For ourselves we are prepared, and we feel obliged, to go the whole length of this conclusion. However a man may speculate about Christian doctrines, if, honoring, studying and imitating Jesus Christ, he is filled with his mind ; if the gentleness, the patience and love of Christ shine in his life ; if Christ is thus "formed in him, the hope of glory," we must say that he is a Christian in spirit. We will not go behind this imitation of Jesus, to ask whether his reasonings about Christ or Christianity be correct.

'Not,' it may be asked, 'if he seem to you to reject the peculiar faith, the entire speculative basis of Christianity ?' No, not if he seems to us to reject all this. The head may err, may swerve from speculative Christianity, while the heart does not swerve from vital Christianity.

But here is a distinction which we must endeavor more fully to unfold. Is there any inconsistency, any self-contradiction, in our saying, that a man's speculative Christianity may be wrong, and his vital Christianity right ? May not the heart be right, while the head is wrong ? *We* are not of those who think that error is a small evil ; but is it a fatal evil ? Suppose that Trinitarianism or Unitarianism,

Calvinism or Arminianism, the supernatural or the mythic theory, be the only true speculative version of Christianity ; does it follow that he who does not see this, is a bad man, and must "without doubt," as the Athanasian creed says, "perish everlastingly?"

We pray the reader to look into this question carefully and candidly. Here are found prevailing in the Christian world various explanations of Christianity. Suppose that you had never heard anything about these creeds and church constitutions, and they were now laid before you side by side for the first time. Could you, guided by reason alone, put your finger upon any one of them and say, 'this alone is connected with goodness of heart, with the Christian affections, with the love and imitation of Christ?' Can you see any such exclusive connexion? If you can, you must point it out; you must show the necessary logical bond between the one and the other. But this we are persuaded you can never do. Goodness has its root in the heart, not in a creed. Holiness springs and lives in a heart breathed on by the spirit of God. You will remind us, perhaps, that our Saviour says, "sanctify them by thy truth;" but what truth is that? "Thy word is truth." Not, as such, the truth of any human creed; but the moral, spiritual, everlasting truth of the Bible. But again, what is the fact? Are there not good Christian men in all churches, under all creeds? Where is the Christian Communion, that will dare to assert that it embraces all the good men in the world? Even the Catholic Church does not assert that; teaching as it does, that only *wilful* error in those who depart from it, is fatal. And concerning the *Pagan* Cornelius, Peter said, "of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him." Shall the measure of charity extended to Heathen nations, be denied to Christian sects? But once more; what is to become of the mass of mankind, of multitudes crushed by toil, buried in ignorance, not able even to read, if it is necessary for them to fix upon the right explanation? Nay, what are we to think of the peril that hangs over intelligent and studious men? For ourselves we do advisedly say, if a book like the New Testament were put into our hands, and we were told

that there was only one right construction of it, and that we must fix upon that construction in order to be saved, we would never open that book ! We would *never* take that tremendous risk. We would fly to the tender mercies of Heathenism for safety ; to the broad charter of Peter's creed in the case of Cornelius.

We must maintain, then, that Christian virtue, Christian union, is compatible with every variety of honest construction of the New Testament.

But now, from this liberality must there flow any bad consequence or any irrational conclusion ? Does it follow, that we must resign our own opinion about Christianity, or undervalue it ? Or that we must not argue or contend against opposing opinions ? Or does it follow, that what we are now saying is inconsistent with what we have lately maintained, when we expressed our conviction that the rationalistic or mythic construction of Christianity, in our view, amounted to an entire speculative rejection of it ? We think not. With our views we may and we must regard the, so called, *orthodox* version of Christianity as a speculative subversion of it. Its leading doctrines, the Trinity, native and total depravity, and *vicarious* atonement, we are obliged to consider not as Christian doctrines, but as anti-Christian. Thus we have lately said, — and it has been the subject of severe public comment, — that we could better defend Deism than Calvinism. But the comment would have been spared, we think, if we had been understood. For, does it follow from all this, that we must pronounce Trinitarians or Calvinists, bad men, men devoid of the Christian spirit ? Not at all. We may respect and love their Christian virtues, though we cannot think their creed to be the Christian creed. They are equally obliged by their position to regard our creed as wrong, and perhaps as utterly defective ; but they are not therefore obliged to say, that we are utterly wanting in the Christian character. Thus, again, we regard, and we cannot help regarding rationalism, the denial of miracles and of everything supernatural in Christianity, as an entire speculative rejection of it. But we do not say that those who take this ground, are devoid of all Christian virtue. We can admit that they may be more faithful imitators of Christ than we are ; and we can value, esteem and love them

accordingly. Let us see men who fervently love one another, and tenderly pity and help their kind ; let us see men filled with the love of Christ and breathing his spirit ; and though they may have erred much concerning the Christ, we have such a view of his love and disinterestedness, that we believe he would love and bless them, though he reproved them. And we do not believe that we have risen to the heights of Christianity, till we see, that pure, simple, all-absorbing love is that to which God and angels and the universe give greeting and welcome. Alas ! we are weak and erring and blind ; but the heart may be true and right, amidst all our errors. And a painful thing it is, to see a man violently contending for a doctrine, be it this or that, while he is losing the end and spirit of all good and pure doctrine. Be our soul gathered — we are willing to take the risk — be our soul gathered with the good, the charitable and loving, rather than with the cold, confident and condemning !

But let us distinctly repeat and say, that while we hold to this grand point of union, we do not give up any of the rights or responsibilities of opinion. If we think that any man has swerved from the cardinal truths of Christianity, by believing either too much or too little, as honest men we must say so ; as honest men we must treat him accordingly. We may not wish to exchange pulpits with him. We may stand upon such different ground that we cannot properly stand together. We may exceedingly reprobate what we conceive to be his errors, as he may what he conceives to be ours. But still let us love one another : that cannot harm us. And if we truly love one another, in a common reverence and love for the blessed Master, we believe we are united in the Christian bond. We believe there is that oneness between us for which Christ prayed.

Perhaps we should more fully express our thought, if we said that we should look upon such cases as exceptions. If a community were gathered which was imbued with the skepticism of Strauss, we should not look there for a prevalence of Christian order, purity and virtue. And we do not see how they would be possible, if that skepticism went to the length of rejecting the moral and pure ideal of the Christ ; a length of which Strauss scarcely

falls short. We could not regard such as a community of Christian men. Still if, with whatever inconsistency, that order, purity and virtue were found in any soul, we should say that that soul had not broken from the bond of Christian union.

Let us take this matter for a moment out of the province of religion. In science, in philosophy, even in moral philosophy, do we ever think of judging men's character by their theories? But let us take an example. A dying parent says to his children, 'I hope and pray that you may always be united; by all the sacredness of my memory, I charge you to love one another.' In after-life, they dwell in the same neighborhood; they are often in each other's company; they converse much together. They differ necessarily about many things; about their farming, the politics of the country, the bringing up of their children; about the Temperance question perhaps, the Anti-slavery question, and many others. They do not regard these differences as unimportant; they even go so far, it may be, as to think that the prudence of life, the prosperity of business, the welfare of the country, is involved in them; but they all revere their father's memory, and they are all united in love. Is not their father's hope, and prayer, fulfilled? Is not this a good and happy union? Is it not the only union possible? Suppose, moreover, that their father had left them a will; and that they differed about the construction of the instrument. As human passions ordinarily display themselves, this difference would breed a violent quarrel. But suppose that the last clause in that will had been an earnest prayer, that they might be united in brotherly love; and that bowing before that last, solemn and touching petition, they had said, 'We will love one another, however we differ.' Would not that have been the fulfilment of the prayer? Would it not, we repeat, have been the only fulfilment possible?

But now to continue the comparison, and to introduce the only objection to our view of union that occurs to us, — 'there are cases,' it may be said, 'where a certain construction of the will in question would evidently proceed from a bad, selfish, avaricious heart.' It is true. And now we ask, can this be applied to the construction of Christianity? Bad passions may have influence in individ-

ual instances; — the love of power or emolument, in this; the love of notoriety or indulgence, in that. But can this be true of whole bodies of Christians? Look around you, and tell us if you do not see good, pure, true men in every church, under every creed. If you say you do not, then stand forth as a mark for universal wonder at such uncharitableness. If you say that you do, then you cannot attribute their choice of church or creed to a bad heart. Choice, did we say? How few ever choose at all! How certainly are most men found in the churches in which they are born! Parental discipline, social influence, a thousand involuntary and invincible biasses, have placed them where they are. And will you say that their position is owing to a bad heart, to want of reverence and love for Christ and Christianity? If you do not say this, then our argument has free course. Then you must admit, that in every church there may be good and devout Christians. Then diversities of faith do not break the Christian bond.

‘Yes, but’ — a man may say — ‘my construction *involves the vitality* of it.’ *Whose* construction? If it be that of any one church, of any one sect, of any one system of theology, if it be the Catholic’s, the Churchman’s, or the Calvinist’s construction, then it is no longer the ground of union which is taken, but of *schism*. The union which any one church or theology obtains by the excommunication of all others, is *not* union, but separation. There *can* be no union on such a principle. We grant that the position here taken by the objector, is impregnable. We have no more to say to him, who gives it to us as his final decision, that upon no other system than his is Christian virtue possible; that no man can love and imitate Jesus Christ, unless he receive the Institutes of Calvin, the Apostolic succession, or the infallibility of Rome. But then what is this impregnable position? It is a guarded and frowning fortress, and not the broad field of Christendom! It is a castle, and not a kingdom!

We seek for a principle broad enough to bind the Christian churches and nations together. And we can find it nowhere but in the recognition and imitation of Jesus Christ as Master; in “confessing him to be Lord, to the glory of God the Father.” And we are forced, of necessity, to the conclusion that diversities of faith do not break this Christian bond.

Is it not a delightful conclusion? Is it not an inexpressible relief, to be able to say, 'I need not judge men by their speculative faith, but only by the lowly and loving virtues of the heart:' to say, with the late excellent and devoted Dr. Arnold of the English Church, "to me it is the very truth of truths, that Christian unity and the perfection of Christ's Church are independent of theological articles of opinion; consisting in a certain moral state and moral and religious affections, which have existed in good Christians of all ages and all Communions, along with an infinitely varying proportion of truth and error."

Let us consider, briefly, some of the happy consequences that would flow from this idea of Christian unity.

We have said that it does not abridge our freedom of opinion, our freedom to judge of the true and the false in the religious systems around us. This liberty we must have. We cannot surrender it, if we would. If we *think* of the various forms of theology, we must judge of them. We must freely form and frankly express this judgment. We desire the freedom of strong preference and of strong dissent. We are not content to think our creed, our church order, about as good as another's. We must have leave to think it a great deal better. We must confess, we like a good, strong, manly, but good-natured, large-hearted sectarianism. We have no favor for the lax and easy indifference which holds one form of faith or worship to be as good as another. Our opinion about religious truth is the strongest, the most vital opinion we have. But now, is this freedom of opinion forbidden or diminished by the charity which we advocate? On the contrary, it is enlarged, protected, secured by it. It would be a terrible thing to judge of another's creed, if our thinking must decide upon his being, upon his character and final fate. Controversy, which is an excellent thing in its place, a necessary conflict of imperfect ideas designed for their general progress, must lose half its uses in this awful dogma. When, in good faith, we can say to our brother opponent, 'You are a good man, we believe, and a devoted Christian, — we deny not your good intent;' then we can freely add, 'But we hold that you are wrong, not denying at the same time, that *we* may be, — yet our simple opinion is, that you are in an error, and a great error.' This open, frank, modest and manly

bearing would put a new face upon religious differences. Controversy would then be a serious indeed, but a noble and generous thing. And how upon any other principle can we examine our own faith with any freedom? If to swerve from our own present view of religious truth is perdition, to examine it is rashness and folly. Indeed it is preposterous to reason with a man who is under the influence of that tremendous fear; for he is not free to reason; he cannot fairly yield to argument; he refuses the very terms on which alone any fair debate is possible. And we are inclined to say, that it were well if controversy had been stopped at this very point, on the very threshold; if the liberal disputant had said, 'It is useless to proceed till you are prepared to go upon fair and equal ground.' And certainly it is easy enough to see, while this ground is denied, why the religious thought, the religious philosophy of the age is behind all other thought, all other philosophy.

The first advantage, then, of our principle of Christian union is, that it would give a new, healthful, just and reasonable character to religious controversy.

In the next place, not only does all fair controversy, but all reasonable candor seem to have its only chance in this principle. How is it possible to regard with candor an opinion, which is necessarily connected with a bad heart and a state of perdition? A tolerant spirit towards damning error, is treason to truth and humanity. The Inquisition itself was hardly wrong upon its premises. A man known to be entertaining and spreading soul-destroying error *should* be put in prison, if not scourged and killed. We do that to those who only wound and destroy the body. Why not to those who wound and destroy the soul? We all disavow this awful intolerance. But, to be consistent, we must disown the principle from which it springs.

And in taking this ground, we speak not only for the general and aggregate welfare of Christendom, but we speak for the interest of our own mind and of every man's mind. We cannot bear that our Christian sympathies should be pent up within any sectarian peculiarity. We wish to revere and love the virtues of all men, of men differing most widely from us. Fenelon, and Melancthon, and Wesley, and Baxter, and Berkley, and Leighton, and Mayhew, and Channing—who would not revere such men? The

virtue of the world is the light of the world; and we would not lose one ray of it. It is a grief and a shame, to live amidst benignant and lovely examples of goodness and to be blind to them, or to see them only through the distorting scowl of bigotry and hatred. And there is danger of this to all minds. It requires a resolute effort to break through these sectarian barriers that parcel out the Christian world; and we see not how it is to be done at all, except by breaking down this false principle, that a man's creed is the test of his virtue.

We say that we speak for the interest of our own mind, and of every man's mind. Intolerance is a narrowness and meanness and injustice. It is a paltry and miserable prejudice in every other relation of life. Why should it not be in the Christian relation? The ignorant boor, who looks upon a Turk or a Chinese as a strange curiosity rather than as a fellow-man; the class-man, who can see no beauty of life out of his walk of fashion or wealth; the man of family pride, who can see nothing fit to associate with out of his family circle, is simply a pitiable being, who does not comprehend the great and goodly world he lives in. How much more pitiable to live in the great spiritual world, and to shut up one's sympathy and admiration within a single narrow inclosure! It is self-imprisonment. It is to choose the faint twilight of a dungeon rather than the broad light of day.

In the third place, any other principle of union than the one we defend, must create a painful state of relations among Christians. If it is necessary, it must be endured—as a great affliction; for such it certainly is. There is, we say, a deep pain in the heart of the Christian brotherhood, rent and torn as it is by this principle of exclusion. It must be so, or Christians are not men. The disputes of philosophers and men of science are bitter and painful enough, as they are: but what would they be, if they were thought to involve character and eternal hope? How awful and distressing would be our political strifes upon this condition! We sleep over this dreadful state of our Christian communities, we are insensible to it, because it is familiar to us, or because we see it only in the general and as something inevitable. But carry down this matter into the bosom of life. See a Christian family dwelling by

another kind, Christian family of a different faith, and obliged to regard its members as devoid of all saving goodness and on the way to perdition. What a grief must it be! What affliction in life can be like it? And in all their neighborly intercourse, what painful collisions or reserves or cautions must there be! And all these take their edge from the fatal principle, that certain differences of opinion involve all spiritual purity. Perhaps these kind neighbors and friends live on, and never speak to one another of what is nearest their hearts. If they would open their hearts, they would find them marvellously alike; but now those fountains of love are sealed up by suspicion. And the very brotherhood, which Jesus made to be the bond of love, is a galling chain. For we verily believe, that many persons would live more comfortably with Mahometans, than they do with their own Christian brethren.

In fine, what harm would there be in treating all men who possess the Christian virtues, with candor, kindness and respect? The principle would not be a compromise with error. It leaves us at full liberty to think our neighbor wrong in his interpretation of truth, to protest against his error, to say even, if we think so, that his views are injurious to piety or dangerous to morality. But why must we go farther, and say that he cannot possess any pure Christian virtue with that faith? Why must we put that fatal element into the case? Will it be said, that truth is endangered by a principle so liberal as that which we adopt? But do not the truths of reason, of science, stand firmly enough without any such terrible safeguard? And cannot God's truth in the Bible stand without it? Truth, did we say? How is the pursuit of truth aided by this awful fear of perdition? Manifestly it is, and must be, hindered. Where had philosophy and science been, if this tremendous peril had weighed upon every step of progress? They would still have been entangled by the syllogisms of Aristotle and the mysteries of astrology and alchemy. For this reason it is, in our opinion, that the dogmas of Augustine and Calvin still overshadow and perplex the paths of religious inquiry. It was indeed the most stupendous, the most awful of all the tyrannies ever set up over human thought, to establish a system of doctrine, and then to say

that any material departure from it involved the perdition of the soul. Yet we say not, that Calvin or Augustine meant wrong in this ; nor that their error severed them from the body of Christ, though it was a gigantic and overwhelming error.

What harm would follow from the kind and liberal principle, did we say? Nay, what good would it not do! Then would Christian controversy have some chance of being calm and patient and enlightening. Then would a blessed candor and charity breathe through the Church. Then would the bitter pain of our divisions be done away. Then would the prayer of Christ be fulfilled, that his followers might "all be one."

And let us add, that it has been fulfilled to an extent that is a wonder and glory amidst the ages. We do not consider perhaps, how great was that petition. It was a sublime prayer, in a world which every mountain and river had separated into hostile tribes and nations, that one great brotherhood might arise which should bind nations and tribes and families into unity. None but the Son of God, none but he who felt in himself the power of an unbounded love, ever conceived such a design, ever uttered such a prayer. And the love that bore that prayer to Heaven, has penetrated the heart of the world. Do we not feel something of its gracious presence around us and among us? Does it not appear in speech and form and faith? One name, one covenant, one altar, one worship—are not these strong bonds? The name of Christian, Christian brother—does it not thrill in hearts unnumbered throughout Christendom? The name of Christ—does it not rise in the prayers of innumerable households, far round the world? As amidst all our political divisions still we love our country, and nothing can break the magic spell of native sky and home; so amidst all our religious divisions, still our hearts turn with filial veneration to Bethlehem and Gethsemane, to the holy hill of Olives and the sacred mount of Calvary. And Jerusalem, waste and desolate though she be—who of us would not rather set foot within her mournful gates, than on any other spot of earth? Is there not a bond then; a bond of union to Christ? Let it be acknowledged, and not denied. Let it be cherished, and not rent asunder. Let us think more of our agree-

ment than of our differences. Let us think of Christ more than of Paul or Apollos, more than of Calvin or Arminius or Socinus, more than of our creed or church or sect.

Union! Is not the Church sighing for it? Is not the world weary of its conflicts? Is not a cry coming, amidst all our sad divisions, from the East and the West, from the North and from the South, for Christian union? Are not many minds tending to this point? Is not that great, last prayer of Christ for his disciples more manifestly to be accomplished: — “that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they all may be one in us?”

O. D.

ART. VI.—STUART ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.*

THIS work of Professor Stuart is chiefly directed against Mr. Norton's Note on the Old Testament, which is appended to the second volume of his very able and learned work on the Genuineness of the Gospels. For a book having this object in view, it appears to us a very singular production. The greater part of it, that is, about three hundred out of the four hundred and fifty of its pages, is taken up, or at least professes to be taken up, in the proof of what Mr. Norton has never denied, and of which, as we suppose, he entertains no doubt; viz: that in the time of our Saviour, and for a considerable time previous, all the books now regarded by Protestants as forming the Old Testament were recognised by the Jews as sacred books. There may be a difference of opinion as to the exact time when the Jewish canon closed, whether it was about two hundred, or four hundred years before the Christian era. But there is no doubt, of which we are aware, among those whose opinion Mr. Stuart opposes, that the same books, which Protestants now regard as exclusively belonging to the Jewish canon, were so regarded by the Jews between one and two hundred years before the Christian era. How happens it then, that, of a work professing to answer Mr. Norton's

* *Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon.* By M. STUART, Professor of Sac. Literature in the Theol. Seminary, Andover, Mass. Andover. 1845. 12mo. pp. 452.

views, the writer has devoted the greater part to the proving of what Mr. Norton and the critics who agree with him have neither denied, nor doubted? How is it, that he has avoided nearly all the difficult questions belonging to the subject, by referring them to what he calls "the department of Theology, specially of apologetic and polemic theology?" Surely this is neither reasonable, nor kind to those whom Mr. Stuart supposes to be in error. To us it seems to betray a considerable lack of courage in a Professor of Sacred Literature, to choose the easy task of proving what is not only admitted, but proved by De Wette and others, who agree with Mr. Norton on the character and authorship of the Pentateuch, and to leave the task of refuting the arguments, on which his opponents chiefly rely, to the Professors of Dogmatics. With quite as much reason, we think, may the Professors of Dogmatics refer it back to a Professor of Biblical Literature. Of the one hundred and fifty pages of Mr. Norton's Note on the Old Testament, Mr. Stuart has attempted an answer on critical principles to not more than four or five, namely, those which relate to the use of alphabetic writing and the diction of the Pentateuch; the argument from which, as stated by Mr. Norton, is by no means material to the decision of the main question.

It is true that Mr. Stuart may say, that if his principal argument is valid, there is no need of attempting to remove difficulties relating to the Old Testament on principles of historical and critical investigation. This argument is, that Jesus Christ and his Apostles have recognised not only the authority, but the inspiration of every part of the Old Testament, and therefore we must receive it, or reject Christianity. The story of the exploits of Samson, and the fortunes of Jonah, with that of the express command of God to exterminate the Canaanites, rests on the same authority, as the sermon on the Mount. Was it wise, in one who wishes to convince those who differ from him, thus to take the subject out of the province of critical and historical investigation? Suppose that Mr. Stuart has succeeded in proving to the satisfaction of those, who doubt the divine inspiration and the prophetic authorship of some parts of the Old Testament, that in order to be consistent they must reject Christianity, as a divine revelation? What good has he effected? He has not removed a single

difficulty from any mind. All the difficulties of the Old Testament, which have perplexed the minds of thinking Christians from the time of Origen to the present day, still remain in all their force. Those upon whose minds they have been forced by the progress of inquiry are turned over by Mr. Stuart to the Professors of Dogmatics, perhaps to be sent back by them to the Biblical critics. The evident tendency, then, of Mr. Stuart's argument is, to induce those who have doubts relating to the inspiration and authorship of some parts of the Old Testament to reject the authority of Jesus Christ. The language of many such persons would naturally be of the following import: — 'We have had faith, resting on historical and moral evidence, in the divine authority of Jesus Christ. But we have faith also in other things. We believe in certain truths relating to astronomical and geological science, which appear to us to rest on as good evidence as that for the divine authority of Jesus Christ. We believe also in certain truths relating to the moral character of the Deity, and his dealings with the children of men. Now, having found in the Old Testament some statements which appear to us to conflict with the truths of natural and moral science, and even with the teachings and precepts of Christ, we have publicly stated our difficulties, and suggested a mode in which they may be reconciled with the truth of the Christian revelation. Our hypothesis is, that some parts of the Old Testament are not the production of infallible inspiration, and some books of it not the genuine production of inspired prophets, though in general we acknowledge those books to be the records of a revelation from God to the Jews. But what you have to say to us is, that we must take the whole of the Old Testament or none; nay, that we must receive the whole of it as inspired by God, or reject Christianity. If you are right, then, we must reject Christianity. For we cannot help believing the established truths of natural and moral science.'

Such, we think, must be the train of thought in the minds of some of those who may be convinced that Mr. Stuart has established his main point. The effect of his argument on others of more timid character will be, to stop inquiry; to make them give up attention to the critical study of the Old Testament, lest the result should be unfavorable to their Christian faith.

We regret, therefore, that Mr. Stuart has pursued such a course of argument, though we do not regard it as valid. The subject of the character and claims of the Old Testament is one, on which all serious minds are open to conviction. It is not a question of sect or party. Unitarians are not more concerned in it as such, than Trinitarians. All that the friends of divine revelation seek on this subject is the truth, let who will maintain it. When such men as Mr. Norton, in a course of serious and scientific inquiry, questions the genuineness of the Pentateuch, or such men as Doederlein and Tholuck, not to mention the anti-supernaturalists, deny the genuineness of the last twenty-six chapters of Isaiah, or such men as Dr. Arnold avow their belief in the spuriousness of the book of Daniel, — all professing to be guided by the principles of critical and historical investigation, and all firm and devoted friends to the Christian revelation, — it is not enough to say to them, ‘If you continue to hold your opinions, you must renounce your Christian faith. You are inconsistent men. You must, to be consistent, go farther, and deny Christ; and we really wish you would, and then we should know where to find you.’* No! those who think such opinions erroneous, ought to endeavor to refute them by other means than those which Mr. Stuart has used. It affords no pleasure to such men as we have named, to call in question received views. It would be far more pleasant, if regard to truth would allow it, to sail smoothly in the wake of popular opinion. Their views are entitled to respect. If they are unsound, undoubtedly they can be shown to be so, on the principles of critical and historical investigation. A refutation of those views on such principles can alone give satisfaction to an earnest and thorough inquirer. To undertake it on any other principles betrays a secret, though it may be an unconscious, skepticism in regard to the possibility of refuting them.

But we are far from thinking, that Mr. Stuart has established his point. We may doubt the genuineness of some books, and the inspiration of some parts, of the Old Testament, and yet hold fast our faith in the Christian revelation.

* Mr. Stuart has not used this language, but on page 421 occur expressions which sound very much like it.

In the first place, on the supposition, that Mr. Stuart has established his premises, to wit, that Christ and his Apostles recognised the prophetic authorship and divine inspiration of all the books of the Old Testament, still his conclusion in reference to those whose opinions he opposes, is much too broad. For it is certainly conceivable, (we make the supposition to show how inconsequent is the Professor's reasoning,) that Jesus and the Apostles might be mistaken in some opinions, which they held in common with the Jews, and yet have been inspired in regard to the essential truths of the Christian revelation. The strongest inference that could be drawn from a mistake of Christ and the Apostles in regard to a question of criticism or history, would be their fallibility on certain subjects, and not their want of authority to make a revelation of divine truth. Many Orthodox divines have supposed that the Apostle Paul expected a personal and visible coming of Christ during his life-time, but this has not impaired their confidence in his being inspired with the great Christian ideas. Dr. Priestley and others have held Christ to be fallible on some subjects, while they have had undoubted confidence in his authority to reveal the essential doctrines of Christianity. Should any one, therefore, take the ground, — which we would not be understood as taking, — that Christ and the Apostles were fallible in regard to certain opinions connected with their Jewish education, he would not be compelled to renounce his faith in the Christian revelation.

But we can by no means admit, that Mr. Stuart has shown it to be a fact, that Christ and his Apostles regarded all the books of the Old Testament as the genuine productions of inspired prophets, or all parts of them as given by infallible inspiration. The passages quoted by Mr. Stuart are far from proving the point. Some of them are wholly irrelevant, and the expressions used in others are too general and indefinite to answer the purpose for which they are adduced. From the references made by our Saviour to the Old Testament we may conclude, that in his view it contained much that is divine and can never pass away. But that he intended to sanction all that is contained in it, or to settle critical questions in regard to the genuineness and authority of every book in it, appears to us in the highest degree improbable, and not only not supported, but even

contradicted by his language. In the sermon on the Mount he spoke of some of the laws of the Old Testament in a very different manner from that in which he would have spoken of the laws of God. And how could he, who gave the command, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you," have supposed that the extermination of the Canaanites by the Jews was by express Divine command? Or, how could he, who died praying for his enemies, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!" have sanctioned the imprecations in the cixth Psalm, or other passages of the Old Testament having a similar character?

The learned and impartial Neander, whose praise is equally high with Christians of all denominations, has remarked in reference to the diseases of the demoniacs of the New Testament:—"In regard to the question whether Christ expressed any decided opinion respecting the origin of these diseases, it must be remembered that an investigation into their immediate cause appertained to scientific psychology, a subject which was left to the gradual development of natural science. Accordingly, from the circumstance of his leaving uncontroverted the popular theory, it cannot be inferred that he either sanctioned or approved it; the subject being one which from its nature did not come within the range of his instructions."* May it not be doubted with equal propriety, whether it came "within the range of his instructions" to decide all the questions, which might arise in the progress of scientific inquiry, relating to the character and criticism of the books of the Old Testament? We can see no stronger reason why, in his short mission upon the earth, our Saviour should have entered into controversy with the Jews on the subject of the character and claims of their sacred books, than on the subjects of psychology, astronomy, or geology. Criticism and interpretation, like psychology and astronomy, might well be left by him "to the gradual development of natural science."

Let it be supposed,—what cannot be proved,—that Christ and the Apostles regarded all the books composing the Jewish canon as having been written by prophets, in the

* See Extracts from Neander's '*Leben Jesu*', translated by Rev. J. R. Beard, p. 44.

sense in which the Hebrews understood the term. Still, before the conclusion could be established at which Professor Stuart has arrived, how much must be proved respecting the nature and the extent of the inspiration of the Prophets! Was it occasional, or universal? Did it relate to all subjects, or only to that of religious truth? Was it, or was it not, consistent with fallibility? Did it consist in the suggestion of objective truth, or in the general exaltation and strengthening of the prophet's faculties? Many questions of this kind must be settled, and settled in a particular way, before Mr. Stuart's conclusions from the language of Christ and his Apostles can be regarded as established. In regard to many passages, too, the question would arise, how far Christ and the Apostles may have reasoned *ex concessis*, or from opinions held by the Jews without intending to sanction those opinions.

But we have neither space nor time for the discussion of the subject. We should be glad to close without saying anything of the spirit and tone of the book. We are aware that great latitude should be allowed for the expression of earnest feeling in a writer who is interested in his subject. But we might cite instances of superciliousness and discourtesy from Mr. Stuart's book, wholly unbecoming a Christian scholar and gentleman.* We might specify frequent instances of the *argumentum ad invidiam*, and of an offensive misstatement of the question under discussion. We might quote several passages, which are adapted to give false impressions of the opinions, not only of Mr. Norton,† but of Gesenius and Eichhorn, to persons unacquainted with those writers. What does Mr. Stuart mean, when he says that Gesenius was "*most of his life* a strenuous asserter of the late origin of the Pentateuch?" If he means that he ever altered his opinion on the subject, we believe the assertion to be destitute of foundation. Again, what does he mean, when he says of Eichhorn, that "he is left in the race of neological criticism immeasurably behind De Wette, Ewald, Lengerke, Mr. Norton and their compeers." Even in relation to the Old Testament this sweeping assertion

* See pp. 20, 21, 329, 344.

† See p. 20 at the top, and p. 22 at the middle.

would be unjust to Mr. Norton. But we presume not one reader in a hundred would limit the assertion to the Old Testament. Now Eichhorn disbelieved every supernatural occurrence, recorded either in the Old Testament or the New. He had no faith in any miracle, or proper prediction. Though he maintains the Mosaic authorship of a considerable portion of the Pentateuch, he expressly excepts that part of Exodus, comprising nearly half of it, which treats of the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, and the miraculous events which preceded it. He denied the genuineness of the three first Gospels, and of several other books both of the Old Testament and the New.* And yet, says Mr. Stuart, he is left far behind in the race of neology by Mr. Norton. And it is of such a man as Eichhorn that Mr. Stuart says, "nobly has he managed the cause of what I believe to be sound criticism, and justly has he decided it." All this praise is given him for maintaining, in his declamatory way, the genuineness of those parts of the Pentateuch, which he supposed to imply nothing supernatural. We have read of those who could "strain at a gnat and swallow a camel;" but we have never known the proverb more truly exemplified than in the case of a learned Professor, who could in the same breath laud Eichhorn, and condemn the author of the "Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels."

It gives us no pleasure to make the general remark, that this book of Mr. Stuart, though coming from one who deserves high praise for the impulse which he has given to the cause of sacred literature in our country, is anything rather than a scientific, scholarlike production. It abounds in loose and inconclusive reasoning. It may please a certain class of readers, who are never troubled with doubts or difficulties of any kind, or who delight to see odium cast upon those who differ in opinion from themselves. It may restrain the researches of the timid, and bind them to what has been thought or believed. But it will not convince an earnest and thorough inquirer.

We might remark upon some statements and opinions of Mr. Stuart, different from those commonly received by the

* See Eichhorn's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* III. p. 240 etc. and p. 432. See also *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* I. pp. 445, and 691, and III. pp. 12, 13.

Orthodox, and which appear to us not very consistent with the main point which he labors to establish. But we have already extended this notice beyond our original intention. We will only add, that the section on the use of the Old Testament under the Gospel dispensation, being considerably in advance of the popular view, is adapted to do much good. We think it the most useful part of the book.

G. R. N.

ART. VII.—CHRISTIANITY WITHOUT CHRIST.

THE kingdom which Jesus Christ has already won in this world is wider than its enemies, or even its friends suppose. Had he the full and undiminished honor of all the influence in behalf of truth and righteousness which has really originated in him, he would be more worthily confessed among men. If his name had attached to it all the epithets which we do not hesitate to attach to the effects and institutions that are to be traced to it, it would win the homage and reverence of many more hearts.

One of the most remarkable phenomena now presented throughout Christendom, is a professed reception of the truths, and an enjoyment of the fruits of Christianity, combined with a virtual rejection of the Author of Christianity. In some quarters Jesus Christ has been well nigh joined to the fellowship of certain unknown inventors and discoverers, certain nameless and unrecorded persons, to whom the world is indebted for many most valuable truths and processes. There have been many admirable discoveries and inventions in philosophy and science, the authors of which must forever lose their due honors, because we are ignorant of their names. In some cases, too, these honors are contested between rival claimants. The name of Christ has not perished; it is indissolubly associated with his Gospel. His life, indeed, is a large part of that Gospel. Still the strange phenomena present themselves, of the acceptance and enjoyment of Christianity as something that may be distinguished from its "Author and Finisher." In the professed faith, in the philosophical speculations, and in the

philanthropic practice of many among us, we shall find that there is now, as there has long been, a great deal of religious belief and religious effort bearing some other name than that of Christ, yet inspired by him, the honor of which is due to him, and which would gain in power if it were still associated with him.

It is an ancient, a cherished, and by no means an idle or unprofitable conviction of the wisest and best of our race, that the Divine Father of men raised up Jesus of Nazareth as his Messiah and our Redeemer; that this messenger of God lived for a season upon the earth, and introduced into it a religion worthy of all acceptance; that he taught a pure faith, and enjoined a perfect rule of duty for man in all things. The sufficient testimony of experience has confirmed by long trial and by wide application this conviction of the wise and good. And if it was ever important that the name and authority of Christ should be associated with his lessons of truth and duty, it is important now. We should regard with a holy jealousy the honor due to Christ, and should never allow him to be severed in our faith or in our practice from the blessings which the world has received through him alone. All the attempts of sectarianism, of philosophy and free speculation, and of popular contrivances, to assume the work and honors of Christianity while the name of Christ is set aside, should be reminded of their obligation to him, of their dependence upon him, and of the importance of relying upon his sanction and help for success in all that is right. Let his name be blessed and dear to us. Let his authority be sufficient for us. If we cannot add to the truth and holiness of which he was the teacher and the example, let us not take from him the reverence which as our Master and Lord he claims. Let not the world nor any of its instructors, as age by age it testifies to the importance and the value of Christian faith, lose the memory of its origin, or sever its blessings from their Author.

The title which we have placed over these remarks — Christianity without Christ — is not so much chosen by us, as forced upon our use, in view of certain matters to which we shall now proceed to apply it. Let us premise however a statement which is very appropriate to this discussion. Jesus Christ seems to have anticipated this rejection or for-

getfulness of his name and his divine authority, and to have predicted the preference among men of other teachers to himself, even when they taught only the same as he taught, or less or more than his own doctrine. His most intimate disciple writes of him that he spoke these words — “I am come in my Father’s name, and ye receive me not; if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.” Veritable history shows that this plain assertion was true even at the moment when it was uttered, for Judea was overrun at that time by impostors who could each of them boast a larger retinue than could the Messiah. A long and full history that has been written since that time, and present experience — the living and abundant testimony of our own days, give to the Saviour’s words an application more striking even than that which they first bore. His assertion admits of forcible illustration; as its general meaning is, that men are ready to be duped, deceived, or controlled by error, or at least by partial and imperfect truth, while they will not dare the ventures of a faith, which requires humility and reliance in its reception, though it bear sufficient and entire truth in its message. We shall attempt to illustrate this assertion by a reference to the dissensions, the speculations, and even the philanthropic efforts, which prevail throughout Christendom.

The sects and dissensions which prevail in the Christian world have verified the assertion of the Saviour. They make his name and authority secondary to some other title or claim. They propose Christianity without Christ. Most of the Christian sects bear the names or rest upon the sanction of some human leaders. There is a Papal Church, an Athanasian Creed, a Lutheran Confession, a Calvinistic Catechism, a Wesleyan Connexion, a Campbellite Fellowship, a Swedenborgian Communion, and there are disciples of Joe Smith. Not one of these sects would yield up the name of Christ; but if asked individually of their belief, they would be sure to mention some patron’s name with his, if not before it. Now it is not possible that this confusion of titles should exist without obscuring or impairing the authority of Christ, and mingling something with Christianity which is not Christianity. They sever the affection and interest of Christians from the Author and Finisher of our faith. They cause him, like that best altar-stone

which stood in all Athens, inscribed to the Unknown God, to be neglected for the sake of the shining statues of polished marble which all have titles. There is an application of the Saviour's words, strict and literal, to the dissensions and distinctions prevalent among Christians. Jesus coming in the name of the Father does not find that to be definite enough with many of his disciples. His sign must be countersigned before it can have currency. Other individuals come in their own names; they owe whatever good effect and wholesome influence they may work, to that portion of Christian truth which they may make the basis of their teaching. And such as these are received and followed.

A professed Christian may go with the name of his Master for his proffered pass-word and seek communion at the sacramental feast where he is commemorated, and yet be refused such fellowship: he must speak some other name, some human title, or stand aside. Amid the enterprises now undertaken in the facilities of intercourse, it would be no strange thing if piety should unite with curiosity and romance, to induce some believer in Christ to make a complete tour amid the lands and churches where his faith is professed. Such a traveller might rest at intervals every Lord's day, and enter a different place of worship each week, and he would need to mention the names of as many founders of sects, poor, erring fellow-disciples like himself, as there are Sundays in the year, or at least to assent to their peculiar views, to ensure himself admission to the Lord's table. The Lord's table! That has indeed long since lost in many quarters the Saviour's name, and has ceased to speak his free invitation. Custom has made us familiar with the substitution of human names for the Christian name, so that we do not marvel at it, but it is marvellous, and it is far from being harmless in its influence on our common Christian faith. Religious truths and lessons are thus severed from their only proper sanction, their only sufficient authority. An attempt is made to receive Christianity without first receiving Christ, the teacher and pattern of Christianity. Other names are put before his, and sometimes his name is omitted altogether. The blessings which he has assured to the soul and to the world are held as if by some other tenure than that of faith in him, and he is not acknowledged as he should be.

Some, however, may affirm that each sect intends, though it may bear the name of a human leader, to attach to Jesus Christ his full honor, and that all its distinguishing tenets are merely subsidiary to this end. Be the intention what it may, such is not the effect of the naming and labeling of contending sects. They confuse and embarrass popular opinions, they make all Christian union impossible, they introduce animosities among disciples, they have made the world to groan with a gathered mass of controversies, and have uttered a lively commentary upon the Saviour's warning to his followers — "Be not ye called masters."

For the great evil attending this substitution of human names for the name of the Master is yet to be mentioned. Jesus came in the name of his Father, other teachers have come in their own names, and all the difference that is found between the teachers and the names with which they have come, is found also in their doctrines. Hence have grown human creeds and formularies. If these contain more than has the sanction of the Master, or less, then they are not allowable: if they contain the same, then there is no need of them. Hence have sprung the rites and ceremonies, and institutions, and discipline which make the very essence of so many sects. We know what importance is attached to them severally in different Communion, and we know too that all the stress which is laid upon them is at the expense of plainer articles of faith and practice. The name of St. Athanasius is attached to a creed, which in a short space manages to conflict with every science and every authorised principle known to man. It is ungrammatical, unmathematical, unreasonable, unphilosophical, unscriptural and unintelligible. That Creed is enjoined upon the faith of millions. It begins with the assertion, that whoever will not believe it shall without doubt "perish everlastingly." Yet it does not contain a single article common to it and the sermon on the Mount, which closes with the Saviour's own promise that whoever hears and obeys it, builds his house upon a rock. Truly the beginning of the one document conflicts with the end of the other. They bear very different names. They cannot both be received together. Yet the reception of that creed, where it is made (as it *is* made) of vital importance, must confuse many who would receive Christ in the name

of the Father, without being compelled to receive Athanasius with him or before him.

Again, the Swedenborgian tells us that there is a hidden sense beneath the literal sense of Scripture. The search for this must take time and thought and effort needed for learning and obeying the literal sense. The literal sense rests upon the authority of Christ. The hidden sense rests upon the authority of Swedenborg. On which of these two senses do the Swedenborgians lay the chief stress; which has the greater interest for them? If they were satisfied with the literal sense, they would be content to call themselves Christians, and would put no other name before, or beside that of Christ. But if they will adopt also the internal sense, they must also take the name of the man on whose alleged commission to teach it the authority of that internal sense depends. We have indeed been assured by a disciple of the so called New Church, that he was and should have remained an unbeliever, had it not been for the writings of that learned and amiable Swedish baron. We could not but reply to this remark, that there was certainly great propriety in the adoption of the term Swedenborgian by him who made it, for that title in his case could not but stand before the title of Christian.

So indeed might we take the peculiar sentiments of each and every sect which rests on creeds, human titles and formularies and rites, and show how in some thing they receive a human teacher in his own name. This never can be done without perplexing the essentials of Christian faith, or increasing the effort of belief and obedience, or making of secondary importance the authority of him who came in the name of the Father. Though we might abundantly fortify these positions by a large reference to past and present experience, yet we must leave this first form of Christianity without Christ, because of others at least as remarkable. Let us however recognise the manifest obligation of keeping the supreme authority of Christ attached to his own religion; and of distinguishing between what he taught in the name of the Father, and that which others teach in their own names.

We pass to another attempt to appropriate and enjoy the blessings of Christianity under some other name than that of Christ. Let this illustration be drawn from some

of the speculations which have been entertained among Christians, and it will be found very fertile.

Religion has for ages been distinguished, in its lessons and its evidences, under the division of natural and revealed. This is a distinction with a difference. By natural religion is meant all of faith and duty, all of truth and hope, which the outward universe, the course of events, and the unaided reason of man will teach. By revealed religion is meant all the exposure of dangerous, though prevailing and established errors, all the confirmation of supposed and imagined truths, and all the addition of new or undiscovered truths, and all the new applications, uses and sanctions of all truths, which have been given to the world through the life and lessons of a child of God miraculously endowed. Such is a distinction which once was as clear to the minds of men as the difference between light and darkness. Ancient books record the sum of natural religion, and the date when revealed religion intermingled its new teachings. Natural religion embraces what many men have learned by their own inquiries, and have taught in their own names. Revealed religion embraces what was taught by Jesus Christ in the name of the Father. The lapse of time, the influences of long use, and more than all, the harmony of truth have well nigh blended the lessons taught by both forms of religion. But the distinction may still be distinguished. Cunning artifice may confound them, but watchful criticism and candid truth will keep them apart.

Now it has long been the effort, designed or undesigned, of those who bear the title of philosophical unbelievers, to merge the lessons of revelation in the revelations of nature. That is, they will either reject what Jesus Christ taught in the name of the Father, or they will receive what they please of it because they can teach it in their own names. With great positiveness has the position been assumed, that the pages of nature and the consciousness and intellect of man are adequate to make known and to confirm all of moral and religious and spiritual truth that is found in the religion of Christ. If this assertion could be sustained, it would not be the undoing of Christianity; but it would detract from the dignity and authority of the Founder of Christianity. It would give to every student of nature and

every philosopher the right to set his name in rivalry with that of our Lord and Master.

But let us see how this attempt at resolving revelation into natural religion is pursued, and let us question its method.

We have very many treatises on Natural Religion, understanding that phrase in its widest sense, as embracing the study of God's works, the phenomena of nature, the consciousness of man, and the experience of man's life. These treatises, or materials for them, form a large portion of the literature of all lands and of all people, through all time. All that we now possess relating to natural religion more or less closely, may be divided into two parts, one part including that which was written before the introduction of Christianity, the other embracing what has been written since that event, whether by those who, like Wollaston and Durham and Butler and Paley and others, have been Christians, or by those who, living under the influences of Christianity, have been philosophical unbelievers, or as the same persons seem now to prefer to be called, philosophical believers. Now the only proper way to decide what Natural Religion will teach us, and all that it will teach, is to take that part which was written on the subject before the birth of Christ. There are two sufficient reasons for this restriction. The first reason is, that the works and operations of nature, the providence of God, the heart, mind and experience of man—which are the materials of natural religion—were all as available before the birth of Christ as now, and there were men of as mighty intellect then as there have been since, to use them. The other reason for restricting the compass of natural religion to what it taught before the birth of Christ is, that since his birth his teachings have in ten thousand ways, sensibly and insensibly, directly and indirectly, influenced the thoughts and the lives of men; his teachings have been almost inseparably confounded and identified with our common thoughts and feelings, our instinctive convictions, and our natural rules of duty.

Restricting then the sum of what Natural Religion will teach to what it did teach or has taught in times before the Saviour, or in regions or islands where he has not yet been revealed, we can readily estimate how much men can teach

in their own names. We may leave unnoticed all those barbarous and hideous devices, all those gross and brutalising superstitions, and all those innocent and fanciful conceptions, which have prevailed as religion in Pagan continents and isles, and we may take the writings and the lives of the noblest men in the most civilized nations of antiquity, as the issues of natural religion.

We have before us the writings and teachings of Homer and Hesiod, of Socrates and Plato, of Cicero and Plutarch, and a few others, and we find that their wisdom, their characters, their lives, and their sorrows, lacked just those views, virtues, lessons and hopes which the revelation of Jesus Christ has brought to millions and millions of the humblest children of God. Cicero sat in his elegant country-seat, on the lovely shore of the Mediterranean, near the spot which Heathen taste chose as the earthly representation of Elysium or heaven, and there, with all the honors of a republic hung upon his brows, and all the wisdom of his age at his service, he wept and mourned in his declining days the death of a beloved daughter, dearest to him of all that the earth included. There, he himself tells us, he read every piece of written parchment which he could meet with on the subject of moderating grief. There he received letters of consolation from such noble friends, and such eminent Romans, as Cæsar and Brutus, and Lucceius and Sulpicius. But they were letters which did not reach to the woe of his heart, nor suggest the hope which now beams over the humblest Christian death-bed. The only solace of his grief he found in the purpose of erecting to the memory of his daughter a costly temple, where she might receive for her virtues a semi-idolatrous worship from his and her friends. Has not every one whose eye may fall on these remarks beheld sufferers in lonely homes, without wealth or honors, visited with ten-fold more of woe than that great Roman endured, yet sustained by a faith which cometh not of philosophy or man's wisdom? And what was Natural Religion then—what did it teach, not only of hope in death, but of duty in life? Did it then contain the lessons of revelation?

Now a class of writers, called Philosophical Unbelievers, Infidels, or Free Thinkers, made it quite fashionable in England a century ago, to take the belief of simple

Deism, but to embrace under that belief the substance of revelation, not however as coming through Jesus Christ in the name of the Father, but as certified by their own names. Some of the treatises written by these men, on what they called the Religion of Nature, are exceedingly beautiful and impressive. In their admiration of Christian doctrines and views of life, and in the spontaneous assent and approbation of their minds to Christian truths, they fell into the delusion of supposing that they had discovered and wrought them all out from the light of nature. They resemble those described by Milton, who in their approbation of a discovery wondered that they themselves had not made it:—

“The invention all admired, and each how he
To be the inventor missed;—so easy it seemed,
Once found, which yet unfound, most would have thought
Impossible.”

Christianity had been breathed in by those writers from the atmosphere around them, its spirit and its lessons glide gently from their pens, they are earnest in maintaining that all that man needs to believe and know and do is signified by the pages of Natural Religion, and they are just as earnestly engaged in writing those pages over with transcripts from the New Testament. They are indebted to the Bible for their natural religion, as much as Kamehameha III., the King of the Sandwich Islands, would be if he were to undertake to write a treatise on religion of any sort.

Among ourselves too, here and there may be found a person who does the same as did those Deists, teaching Christianity without Christ, and sometimes even religion without God, because he relucts at admitting the miraculous sanction of religion. Such persons prefer to substitute their own names and theories to accepting the special authority of Christ, though they would freely appropriate to themselves what he taught. We will not attach any bad name to this violation of a rule which was well established before the rights of inventors and discoverers and the law of patents were settled. Call it an eccentricity, or at worst a delusion. They who thus appropriate the teachings of Christ as their own intuitions, and put their own names before his, forget that they owe all to Christianity; they may forget how they have learned what they know, and what sacred

example of faith first revealed to them the realms of belief and taught their spirits to soar. They forget that they once stood by the knee of a Christian mother to hear of Christ. They forget all the little hymns, the Sunday services of youth, and the thousand influences which have wrought upon them in life. There is ingratitude to Christ, there is peril to the sincerity and the character of the philosopher or speculatist, in thus substituting a mortal name for the name of Christ. To such a deplorable length has this wrong been carried in some quarters, that we may say, even 'the withered hand which Christ has restored and made whole has been lifted up against him; the dumb man's tongue, just loosened from the bonds of silence, has mocked the power that set it free.' Speculation, free and rash speculation, under the name of philosophy, has given a literal fulfilment of the Saviour's reproach, that other names would be preferred to his.

While the dissensions and the speculations of those who walk in the light and enjoy the blessings of Christ do thus verify his own reproach, by putting other names and sanctions before that which he offered, the same wrong is exemplified in the *practice* of Christians. Even philanthropy, Christian philanthropy, has parted with the name of Christ. Those deeds of benevolence done to others which he expressly said he regarded as done to himself, are now urged apart from his name and authority. Some of our reformers have indeed given up the spirit and the title of Christians. Some wonderful facts present themselves here for our notice. Jesus Christ designed that his Church should be a vast institution of holiness, charity and mercy, that all should be its members who were actuated by these sentiments, and that all should receive their kind deeds, who were in any sort of necessity or suffering. This is the Christian Church: embracing every good man, and every good work—with open arms, with free invitations, with an unbounded charity, with the promise of a blessing from on high. This institution, with the sacred name of Christ upon it, languishes, but there spring up all around it institutions designed to do a part of his work—not called by his name, but entitled the Orders of Free Masons, of Odd Fellows, of Rechabites, etc. We know nothing of these institutions save what they publish to the world. We say

nothing against them, for we believe they are doing good in some measure. Some whom we esteem as friends and brethren, approve them and join with them. We have indeed passed upon them the highest praise by saying, as we have said, that they are designed to do a part of the Saviour's great work of holiness, redemption and love. More we cannot say in their praise, for their invention of names and sanctions for their work and organizations seems to us to run in opposition to the name of Christ, and to confine them to only a part of the work, of which he enjoined the whole. The Christian name is enough, and if another name is substituted for it, part of the Christian work will be omitted. For observe now, how this multiplication of Societies, each with its fancy title and designed for partial Christian works, affects the great institution and the great work which bear the name of Christ with authority from the Father. A minister may spend his best strength, his zeal, and his prayers in endeavoring to impress upon his hearers the obligations and duties of a Christian life. He tells them of Christ who went about doing good, and holds him forth as their example; he reads to them that striking chapter in the gospel of Matthew, where Jesus Christ assumes the condition of the sick, the naked, the stranger and the prisoner; he teaches them in the name of Christ, that all men are their brethren and have a claim on every service they can pay; he shows how every sacred hope, and every holy duty, and every work of purity and mercy is embraced in a Christian life; and then the minister urges his hearers to take upon them the Christian name, and go forth and be faithful to it in life. His appeals fall coldly year after year upon many persons. But some of those who will not take upon them the name of Christ and go forth in that name, will take upon them the name of some Society, and with that name will own each other as brethren. Not as Christians, then, but as members of one or another Order, we find them leagued together, visiting a fellow-member in his suffering, addressing him as "worthy Brother," supplying all his wants with the tenderest solicitude, watching by him in the closest friendship, and hailing his return again to the weekly or monthly meeting of the Order. All this is of the very essence of Christianity. It would not have been done without Christianity. Why

not then call it Christianity? Why give to it a fancy name? Why dis sever from any Christian work, or league, or union, that venerable and sacred name which all generations of men are to bless? If Christianity prompts the work of mercy, let Christianity have the credit of it before the whole world. Let not the minds of a rising generation be perplexed and deceived, by finding the work of redemption which Christ has inspired going on by portions here and there, under titles which would better become a nursery for children than the wide, open world of serious and suffering men.

We have hinted that when Christian works are undertaken without the constant guidance and the attending name of Jesus Christ, those works may be but partially performed. Is there not danger of this? We know what answer Jesus gave to the question, — who is my neighbor? That answer was founded on his idea of the universal brotherhood of man, on the equal claim of every brother man to our sympathy in his necessities. Is there not danger lest the members of our fancy Societies put in the names of the brethren of their Orders, as the first and the best, if not the only answer to the question, “who is my neighbor?” We would not imply, that the members of these fraternities restrict their good deeds to their several circles. We know indeed that this charge would be unjust, and that these fraternities have even bestowed aid in their united capacity simply as charity, without reference to the claims of its recipients. But Christendom has for ages acknowledged the beautiful moral of the parable of the good Samaritan to be, that in any work of mercy the claim of humanity goes forth with equal eloquence and with equal demand from every sufferer, and that there can be no “preferred debts” to be recognised by Christian charity. We are pained to see the sublime moral of that parable brought under any risk of forgetfulness, or any diminution of authority, by the recognition of a principle which says that patronage and relief shall regard any associate claims, save those of domestic relationship or of the wide brotherhood of the race.

Besides, the more popular and the more pretending these partial organizations may be, the greater is the expense of supporting them with appropriate paraphernalia,

and with outlays of time and money which go not at all to the relief of suffering, nor to the education of mind or heart. The philosophic Hallam sums up much wisdom and experience in the assertion, that "mankind has generally required some ceremonial follies to keep alive the wholesome spirit of association." This is true, and it is equally true, that the ceremonies, decorations and paraphernalia of associations will generally be an index of the measure of truth, practical wisdom and utility which such associations may claim for their grounds and ends. The baptismal water and the sacramental cup are the simple and sole elements of mere ceremony which were associated from the beginning with our Christian faith, and even these, though full of expression and meaning, have been found objectionable to some of the purest Christians that the world has known. The moment when the ceremonial of the Church began to increase, was the moment when the truth which it had dispensed began to decrease. Throughout all the associations of the middle and subsequent centuries, from the Church down to the pettiest guild or craft of the pettiest village, "ceremonial follies" were invariably the indices of greater or less degrees of utility, of truth and of practical wisdom in those associations.

That we may not be misunderstood, let us again state distinctly the objection we urge against several of our modern associations. It is not that they do not aim at, or accomplish any good. We admit that they do a measure of good. The social meetings of their members may tend to cultivate social feelings, their acts of charity must greatly relieve suffering. Nor do we object now to these Societies, that they have secret bonds of union, nor that the members might be disposed to favor one another in courts of justice, in political elections, and in private dealings. Neither do we object to these Societies, that they offer inducements to the unworthy to seek admittance to them from unworthy motives. Nor lastly, do we urge the general objection applicable to any place or occasion, be it a dram-shop, a reading-room, or a club, which takes men regularly from their families, and offers them a more attractive place than their homes for finding interest and enjoyment after the labors of the day. We object to these Societies solely on Christian grounds. They give up the name of Christ for

a fanciful, if not a silly name of their own. They make charity an obligation peculiarly due to fellow-members, instead of extending it equally and irrespectively to all sufferers, without any favor or distinction, according to the parable of the good Samaritan. They take out the very life from the rule proposed in that parable, and substitute for it the ancient method of Spartan hospitality.

Is there not some little deception too, in thus putting away the name of Christ, and in trying to do without his sanction, and by an improved method, the very work which he proposed and consecrated, and of which he gave the all-sufficient and the only sufficient rule? For see what would be the result in a few years, if the tendencies which have been to such a degree developed were still to strengthen themselves. The next generation coming on to the stage of life would find the Christian Church a deserted and lifeless, or merely a lingering and ineffective institution, clung to only by a few women who are denied admission to our modern Societies, while some really Christian works, and the very work which the Christian Church set in motion, would be going on here and there, by portions, in the community under sham or fictitious titles, and some other Christian works would be neglected altogether, because the name and sanction of the Master had fallen into disrepute. We are well aware, that some may meet these objections by alleging that the Church does not fulfil the purpose of its Founder, by laboring as a great benevolent institution and performing its work of mercy independently of all human distinctions. To this plea we are content to reply, that it therefore becomes every Christian believer to give all his zeal and labor towards turning the Church back to its true work and purpose, instead of aiding in its perversion by forsaking its one great tent for some petty encampment which would set up rival claims.

But it may be asked, if the objection which we have urged against some of these modern Societies, would not apply equally to all charitable associations, such as the "Howard Benevolent Society," "the Fatherless and Widows' Society," etc. We answer, No. These last Societies take names only to designate the particular objects of their Christian charity, and to define the specific form and kind of suffering which they would relieve. They are

not bounded by oaths of fellowship or membership. They have no expensive paraphernalia, no childish devices, no wordy titles, no absurd mummeries. Their organization and their occasional appearance before the public are associated with Christian faith and Christian sanctions, with Christian appeals in Christian churches.

If any one should further ask, whether the objections thus urged against some modern Orders, do not arise from professional jealousy; we answer, Yes! They spring entirely from professional jealousy, and they justify themselves entirely on the grounds of professional jealousy; that profession being a Christian profession, and that jealousy being a desire that Jesus Christ should have the credit of his own work in this world, and that that work should be wholly, not partially, performed. We confess that professional jealousy has dictated our objections, and we have not the least anxiety to disguise, but would prefer to declare it.

In view of all these fraternities leagued in amity to regard their own members as first and chiefly brethren, we might indeed say with St. Paul, "notwithstanding, every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached, and I therein do rejoice, yea, and I will rejoice." Let all these good works be done, but let them be done in the name of Christ. The inspiring purpose, the kindling spirit, the guiding law, the promised blessing is his. If it be only the least gift mentioned by himself, the giving of "a cup of cold water," or the visiting of the sick, "whatsoever ye do, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus; for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved."

We have felt justified in making this reference to the various Societies for doing Christian works, which have put aside the Christian name for less worthy names of their own. Our purpose has not been to heap offence or reproach upon them; we have aimed at something better. We have been solicited to join several of them, and as professed Christians we have made that profession a ground of refusal. We will join none of them, because we have already joined one that is greater and better than them all, and which includes what is good in them all. On the same principle we have purchased an Encyclopedia of established reputation, and embracing the whole circle of

literature and the sciences, and therefore do not feel obliged to purchase separately the many little books which contain reprints of the whole, or of portions, of its single articles. We do indeed belong to all of these benevolent Societies, and to all there shall ever be of them, ten, twenty, or a thousand years after we shall have been buried; because we belong to the Christian Church. Nor can any religious truth, nor any religious duty be made the basis of union among men, which is not recognized in the Christian Church, and which will not bind to eternity all its members. We would say nothing unkind or harsh about the fraternities around us and in our midst, but we object to them, that while doing a Christian work, they yield up the precious and quickening name of the Lord Jesus. Thus is society all around us made to present the strange aspect of appearing to be giving up all reverence for Jesus Christ, while spending redoubled and gigantic efforts in the very work which he appointed, and with the very instruments of which he taught the use. Christianity is thus cunningly deprived of its most earnest and irresistible claim to our regard. For the most efficacious testimony to Christianity is its influence on the world, in our cities, in our villages, in the relations of life, in our hospitals and our charitable institutions. Let them all keep the name which has been given to them in Christian baptism, even if they feel disposed to add to it titles of incorporation by the Legislature. Else when our children succeed us, they may hear of Christ from pulpits as a kind of mythological personage, while all the good which is done in the world, though attributable to his instigation, neglects that sacred name, to assume the numberless designations of clan, or sect, or party. There is a power even in the associations of titles. There is wisdom in retaining the connection between an effort and the spring which renews that effort, in attaching the key to the watch, in chaining the bucket to the well; there is gratitude in handing down the name of a benefactor with the gift which he has bestowed in perpetuity; and there is only simple justice in connecting Christ with Christianity.

The reference which we have made to sects, to speculations, and even to philanthropic efforts, will at least show some justification for the title which we have prefixed to these remarks. Christianity is sufficient for man, in all its

lessons and offices and duties. So sufficient is it, that all sects, and all speculations, and all benevolent enterprises are indebted to it for their measure of truth and power, though by rivalry of new names they have a tendency to conceal from many the indisputable fact, that Christianity is the one great support of the faith, hope, and charity of the world. This fact, so grateful to every Christian heart, so eloquent in its truth, so hopeful in its promises, cannot be denied even by the skeptic. Let it not then be hidden from us by the substitution of any other name for that of Christ, or of any less agency for that of his Gospel.

G. E. E.

ART. VIII.—LIFE AND CHARACTER OF DR. WARE.*

THE professional life of Dr. Ware, including his ministry at Hingham and his professorship at Cambridge, was extended over an unusual term of years, and, both in the events with which it was connected and in the character it displayed, presents no common subject for reflection. He was chosen as the Hollis Professor in 1805 after a ministry of nearly eighteen years, and remained in the active discharge of the duties of that professorship until 1840, making together a period of fifty-three years, and of his academic life "a longer term than was ever rendered by any President of the college, or any Professor except two."† It is seldom, that such a period of active or professional service is permitted to any one: still more rarely is it filled with like fidelity and usefulness. It was, therefore, with the utmost propriety that the University, which had enjoyed so long the benefit of his services, should desire some worthy commemoration of them; and we are happy that

* *A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Rev. Henry Ware D. D., A. A. S., late Hollis Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, pronounced in the First church in Cambridge, September 28th. 1845. By JOHN G. PALFREY D. D. LL. D. formerly Professor of Biblical Literature in the University. Cambridge: J. Owen. 1845. 8vo. pp. 38.*

† The Presidency of Mr. Edward Holyoke was of nearly thirty-two years. The Professorship of the first Dr. Wigglesworth extended from 1721 to 1765, or forty-four years; and that of Dr. Winthrop from 1738 to 1779, or forty-one years.

this honorable duty was devolved on one, whose opportunities of observation, both as a pupil and an associate Professor in the Seminary, fully qualified him for a task, which he has discharged with characteristic judgment and felicity.

"I feel it to be my privilege," says Dr. Palfrey in the opening of his Discourse, "to express in your behalf, as best I may, that estimation, which I share with very many, of the worth and services of an excellent man, several years my revered instructor, and several years my respected and beloved colleague in academical labors. Dr. Ware's was a character of mark. In those walks of life to which my observation has extended, I have known few minds so sagacious: none more firm, more clearly balanced, more candid, or more just. Its influence has operated extensively. * * * And if his life cannot be called eventful, its course has been closely connected with a succession of events of the strongest interest to the friends of science and of Christianity." — p. 6.

From this memoir, and some other sources, we learn that Henry Ware was born April 1, 1764, in the town of Sherburne, Mass., of parents in moderate circumstances, with a naturally feeble constitution, which by tender maternal care gradually acquired strength; and that he was left fatherless at fifteen years of age, with a patrimony of between three and four hundred dollars. His advantages of early education were exceedingly small, but he soon gave promise of the gifts that were afterward so happily developed; and with the assistance of his elder brothers, who had sense to discern and generosity to encourage his progress, was placed under the care of Rev. Mr. Brown, the minister of the parish, for whom his pupil cherished through life a most grateful remembrance; and having been admitted as a Freshman in Cambridge in 1781, he was graduated with the first honors of his class in 1785.

The same carefulness and propriety of deportment which marked the man, distinguished him as a pupil. "He never once incurred a fine, or any other punishment at the hands of the Faculty;" and that this honorable course was at no sacrifice of his popularity with his class-mates, is evident from the honors they bestowed upon him, and particularly by their appointment of him as their Valedictory Orator. Having completed his academic studies, he immediately entered upon the charge of the grammar

school at Cambridge, at the same time pursuing his theological studies and preparing himself for the ministry. He began to preach on the first of April, 1787, in the pulpit of the pastor and friend of his youth; and in the October following, within little more than two years from the time of leaving College, was ordained as Pastor of the First Church of Hingham; being the successor of the venerable Dr. Gay, whose able ministry in that place was protracted to the unusual, and almost unprecedented period of sixty-nine years.

In a few memoranda of his early life, written in his old age, and quoted by Dr. Palfrey, we see under what disadvantages, at that crisis of our Commonwealth, the Collegiate education must have been pursued; and the humble estimate, which in the retrospect Dr. Ware was willing to form of his own acquirements. "I can look back," says he, "upon my College life with but a limited degree of satisfaction." It belonged however to the native modesty of his spirit to take humble measures of himself; and the imperfection of his education and the brief term of his preparatory studies were amply compensated by the excellent gifts that were in him. His youthful tastes and habits, the whole character of his mind, and — what could not be without their effect — his personal qualities, adapted him well to the profession of his choice. From the first he was an instructive preacher; through the whole term of his ministry he was a devoted pastor; his praise was in the churches; his presence was welcomed in other parishes; and when, after more than seventeen years, he was called to the Professorship at Cambridge, the regrets of his people, expressed in terms of affection far exceeding the usual decorum of such communications, and evinced ever after by their continued interest in his welfare, gave unequivocal evidence of the place he held in their hearts.*

In 1789 Dr. Ware married a daughter of Rev. Jonas Clarke of Lexington,† a clergyman respected in his day, and distinguished above the multitude of his brethren as

* See Address from the first Church in Hingham to the Rev. Henry Ware on the dissolution of his pastoral connexion with them, with his answer and Farewell Discourse.

† With the mention of Mr. Ware's early settlement and marriage at Hingham, his eulogist connects some valuable remarks on the too com-

well by his liberal hospitalities as by the extraordinary length of his public services. Of the ten children born of this marriage, Henry was the eldest son, and four daughters died in their infancy. The same wisdom, fidelity and just views of life and duty, pervading the whole course of Dr. Ware, were eminently conspicuous in his domestic relations, in which signal felicities were at different periods not unattended by heavy trials. He was a most wise and judicious parent, natural fondness being ever controlled by the soberest judgment. In the beautiful memoir of Henry Ware Jr. by his brother, Dr. John Ware, just issued from the press, we find this part of his character exhibited in a very attractive light. In adverting to an early period of his brother's life, his biographer says,

"He was much aided in his escape from the dangers of his age and situation by the continuance, in some degree, of the same parental guidance which had already done so much to give him a right tendency. It was the custom of his father to keep up as frequent a communication with his children, when they were absent from him, as the pressure of other duties would permit; and his letters, though not consisting of regular and labored admonitions, seldom failed to contain some hints or short expositions with regard to modes and objects of study, the cultivation of good habits, or attention to moral and religious duties, which probably had the more effect from their incidental character, and this very absence of formality."

The good influences exerted by this faithful parent were all happily seconded by those of his wife, a wise and pious mother, to whose many excellencies her son has paid a grateful tribute in the memoir from which we have made this extract. Her influence, however, was destined to be brief.

mon imprudence of young men entering the clerical profession, in entangling themselves with matrimonial engagements; and quotes from Mr. Ware's memoranda some slight admission of his own "want of forethought and calculation" in this regard. Both the remarks and the admission bear token of the wisdom we should have anticipated from such sources and on such a theme. But inasmuch as the marriage, that occasioned the caution, proved altogether felicitous, except in its too early dissolution, we much fear that our young men, tempted to like alliances, will prefer the hazard of imitating the example to the prudence of adopting the counsel. There are few subjects, indeed, of like interest to the sons of men, in which the efficiency of the soundest advice seems liable to more uncertainty than this; instances never being wanting of grave and worthy gentlemen, within and without the church, whose unexceptionable judgment in other matters has been found in the least possible harmony with their actual history in this.

Mrs. Ware died within a few weeks after the removal of her family from Hingham to Cambridge, and the fond hopes which her husband had cherished of her improving health under the change of their condition were disappointed. But nothing prevailed to shake the firmness of his reliance, or his unwavering trust. The following scene is related by Dr. John Ware in the memoir to which we have referred, and presents a most lively image at once of the calm submission and the paternal faithfulness, which under every circumstance he never failed to exhibit.

“On the day of her funeral our father gathered his children together into the room where she lay, and when they were by themselves, surrounding her coffin, himself calm and tranquil, spoke to them of the mother they had lost; of what she had done, and suffered for them; of her example and instructions; the influence which this event should have upon their lives, and above all, in making them feel the uncertainty of this life, and the duty of preparing for another. The impression made by this scene was of the most solemn and permanent kind, for now, at the distance of forty years, it comes back to the mind with much of the distinctness of a recent event.”

We have ourselves a distinct recollection of the deportment of Dr. Ware on this occasion. He had recently passed through the trial of parting with a beloved flock, and breaking up some cherished associations. He was just entering on an untried and arduous field of duty, rendered more difficult by the bitterness of a theological zeal, of which he was of necessity, however innocently, made the object, and which, though it never dared to breathe a suspicion against his personal character, looked with an intense jealousy upon his course as the Hollis Professor of Divinity. And now, just at the moment when he had exchanged his pleasant home and cherished friendships at Hingham for a new abode and new friends at Cambridge, he was called to part with the wife of his youth and the mother of his six children, whose maternal care could at no period have been more important. He was as yet comparatively a stranger at Cambridge, and as the new Professor, whose appointment had been the occasion of so much division, his person and appearance were naturally the objects of some curiosity with the students. The Sunday following the death of Mrs. Ware was a tempest-

uous day, that might reasonably have detained from church a family under any affliction. It was therefore a spectacle not less edifying than at that time it was rare, to see this young family, while yet the wife and the mother lay unburied at home,* gathered at church with the widowed father at their head, and seeking there, where they may best be found, the strength and solace of prayer. The calm and firm deportment of Mr. Ware on this occasion could have been witnessed by no one without respect; and it may not improperly be mentioned, as among the evidences of the silent beneficial influence of a Christian example, that it impressed one mind at least, in a manner never forgotten, with a sense of the beauty and obligation of submission to the Divine pleasure, and with a sentiment of veneration for the individual exhibiting it, which advancing years and a growing acquaintance continually confirmed and deepened.

The appointment of Dr. Ware to the Hollis Professorship of Divinity in Cambridge University, was an epoch in the religious history of Massachusetts, and to a certain extent, of New England. In connexion with the institution of the Theological Seminary at Andover, and other events soon following, it produced that state of division in the Congregational churches, not unfelt by ministers of other denominations, which exists to the present day. It might be difficult for those who regard only the present aspect of affairs, to conceive of the intensity of interest, with which that appointment was viewed alike by friends and foes, or the vehemence of opposition it encountered from the latter. Then was urged all that has so often been repeated, and as often refuted since, of the orthodoxy of Mr. Hollis as making peremptory the obligation of choosing none but an "Orthodox" Professor. Then was witnessed that of which the history of recent times has not left us without other examples, — the amalgamation of Orthodoxy with politics, which seeks by mutual compromise the compassing of some party objects not otherwise to be obtained. The interval of eighteen months that had elapsed between the

* It was not customary at that time, for even the families of clergymen to attend church on a Sunday intervening between the death and the funeral of one of their members.

death of Dr. Tappan* and the choice of his successor, gave ample scope at once for the speculations and solitudes of party. And when at length, in February, 1805, the nomination of Mr. Ware by the Corporation was submitted to the Overseers of the College for their approval, nothing was wanting either in the importance of the question to be decided, in the relations of the parties engaged, or in the state of the public mind in regard to them both, to awaken the keenest interest. Rev. Dr. Morse, then the minister of the Congregational church in Charlestown, and *ex officio* a member of the Board of Overseers, with others, his Orthodox associates, strenuously opposed the election. After much earnest discussion the question was decided by a vote of thirty-three in favor, and twenty-three opposed to the confirmation.

The objections that were urged to the appointment of Mr. Ware have been so often stated, and we must add, so clearly refuted,† that we may easily be excused from any discussion of the subject here. The objections themselves were of a theological nature, or were drawn from the supposed intentions of the Founder of the Hollis Professorship, while the character and qualifications of the candidate, so far as they were independent of his religious opinions, were treated, as has been already intimated, with a decorous respect. The divisions occasioned by his election, were never healed. The controversy was kept up by subsequent publications;‡ and through the whole term of Dr. Ware's Professorship, and even up to this day, a certain class of writers have not ceased to draw from it materials for complaint or accusation. Neither the ample evidence adduced of the liberal and catholic spirit of Mr. Hollis, evinced by his long and intimate friendship with his Unitarian pastor,

* Professor Tappan died August 27, 1803.

† See, among other publications to the same purpose, the *Monthly Anthology* for April, and May, 1805: the *Christian Examiner*, New Series, for September, 1829: a Letter, by Hon. Francis C. Gray, in relation to Harvard University, addressed to Governor Lincoln: and President Quincy's *History of Harvard University*, in which both the history of the Professorship, and the views of the Founder, Thomas Hollis Esq., are fully and fairly exhibited.

‡ The most prominent of these was that, entitled, "The true Reasons, on which the Election of a Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College was opposed at the Board of Overseers, February 14, 1805. By Jedediah Morse, D. D., Member of the Board of Overseers."

Dr. Hunt, whose counsel he sought in regard to his religious charities, and whom, after constant attendance on his ministry for fifteen years, he calls "a learned man and a critical and just expositor of the holy Scriptures;" nor the well-known liberality of the clergymen whom Mr. Hollis selected as his advisers, and who actually drew up for him at his own request the conditions and rules of his Professorship;* nor the catholic character of the "Form" itself as prescribed by Mr. Hollis to be agreed to by the Professor at his inauguration, in which, without the slightest mention of the Trinity or of any other controverted doctrine, he is only required to "declare it as his belief, that the Bible is the only and most perfect rule of faith and practice, and promise to explain and open the Scriptures to his pupils with integrity and faithfulness, according to the best light that God shall give him;" nor the opinions known to be entertained by the predecessors of Mr. Ware in the Professorship, "all of whom, with the exception perhaps of the elder Wigglesworth, are understood to have departed more or less from strict Calvinism;" nor yet the fact, that the funds of the Professorship were never adequate to its support, and that for many years four fifths of the Professor's salary were derived from the general funds of the College;—neither these, nor other arguments of like bearing, which from time to time were adduced, have prevailed to diminish the earnestness of opposition, or the untiring zeal, with which, upon every possible occasion, the government of the College has been charged with the perversion of its funds and unfaithfulness to the will of a Benefactor.†

* Of the seven friends of Mr. Hollis, who subscribed and recommended the "Rules and Orders," all but one had declared themselves (in the celebrated controversy of Salter's Hall on the subject of the Trinity) for liberality and catholicism; a majority were opposed to tests in any shape, even to the test of a party name; and two of them, at least, were Unitarians, viz. Dr. Hunt and Mr. Lowman.

† Even could it be shown,—what, considering Mr. Hollis's satisfaction with the ministry of Dr. Hunt, seems scarcely possible,—that his own views were Orthodox to the extent alleged, it by no means follows, that he was unwilling to establish a Professorship of Divinity on catholic principles. His whole conduct, whatever might have been his views upon controverted doctrines, was in the highest degree liberal. If he was a Calvinist or a Trinitarian, he chose Unitarians, with others of the most determined advocates of religious liberty, for his counsellors and friends. And what is yet more decisive of his singular liberality is, that,

"Meanwhile," says Dr. Palfrey, "the original subject of all this stir was devoting himself in tranquil retirement to the duties of his place. He took no part in the public discussion of doctrines till after several years, when the urgency of his friends, who were unwilling that so much calm wisdom, experience, and ability should fail to bring a tribute to what he and they esteemed so good a cause, so far overcame his natural diffidence as to prevail upon him to publish, in 1820, a volume entitled 'Letters to Trinitarians and Calvinists, occasioned by Dr. Woods's Letters to Unitarians,' which passed through three editions the same year, and drew in 1821 a reply from Dr. Woods. Dr. Ware continued the controversy by an answer to this work in 1822, and a 'Postscript' to the same the following year." — pp. 24, 25.

The interval that passed between his inauguration as Professor and the commencement of this controversy, was fruitful of events to the church and to the country. The establishment, in 1808, of the Theological Seminary at Andover, the effect, as we have intimated, of the division of the two prominent religious parties in consequence of his election; the organization of Park Street church, in 1809, with the express view of extending the influence of Orthodoxy in the city; the controversy, in 1815, between Dr. Channing and Dr. Worcester, a result doubtless of the state of religious sentiment that had been gradually produced, but immediately suggested by calumnious charges directed against the Liberal party, in the pages of the *Panoplist*; the establishment of the "Society for Promoting Theological Education in Harvard University," which in its prosperous beginning drew to its membership, and enlisted not less the zeal than the liberality of many distinguished citizens of the Commonwealth; and finally, the war of this country with Great Britain, naturally interesting all parties, and which by closing up the avenues to commerce was not without its effect upon the University, by adding to its classes many of our young men who would otherwise have chosen active pursuits; — all these events would naturally, in their turn, engage his attention, but none of them prevailed to withdraw him for a moment from the appropriate duties of his office. His self-respect would not suffer him

being a Baptist, he avoids all reference to this subject in his Rules for his Professorship, and only provides in relation to his scholarships, that "none be refused on account of his belief and practice of adult baptism."

to enter into any defence of the views, which the opponents of his election saw fit to denounce as heretical, and he properly left to others the refutation of charges, which, however groundless, bigotry and intolerance have never been slow to urge against the opinions and the measures of liberal Christians. He felt that sacred interests were entrusted to his hands; and with the devotion of the Jewish governor to his appropriate calling, he could say, "I am doing a great work, so that I cannot come down. Why should the work cease, whilst I leave it and come down unto you?" His various duties, and the manner in which they were fulfilled, we cannot better describe than in the language of Dr. Palfrey's Discourse.

"As a prominent officer of the academical institution, he took his full interest and part in its internal administration, and in all its cares and concerns. He prepared, and read to the students, comprehensive and elaborate courses of lectures on the evidences, doctrines, and ethics of religion, and on the history and criticism of the records of revelation. He conducted the instruction of the classes in the text-books from time to time prescribed in those departments. To the routine of discipline he freely gave his time and wise attention; and the rare union in him of firmness, gentleness, and sound and careful judgment, made him a stable stay, on the one part, for authority to lean upon, and conciliated confidence and made obedience easy, on the other. After the establishment, in 1814, of the separate Lord's day worship in the College chapel, he punctually took his share in the pulpit service; a heavily laborious duty, when performed as he performed it, to one whose week has been crowded full with the tasks of instruction. When at two different times, after the death of President Webber, and the resignation of President Kirkland, he was invested with the temporary government of the College, it prospered beneath his care." — pp. 25, 26.

In no notices, however brief of the services and virtues of Dr. Ware — since it was the occasion of exhibiting both — may we omit the part which he bore in the controversy with Professor Woods of Andover, to which Dr. Palfrey alludes in the extract on our last page. Upon the publication of Dr. Channing's discourse at the Ordination of Mr. Sparks at Baltimore, in 1819, a series of Letters was addressed to the author by Professor Stuart, controverting his statements especially in reference to the doctrine of the Trinity. These were soon followed by "Letters to Unitarians,"

occasioned by the same discourse, by Professor Woods, vindicating the doctrines of Calvinism. To the publication of Professor Stuart a full and elaborate reply appeared in the "*Christian Disciple*" of 1819, well understood to be from the pen of Mr. Norton of Cambridge.* To the Letters of Dr. Woods, Professor Ware, who, as we have seen, had now for full fifteen years been quietly discharging the duties of his place, was persuaded by his friends to reply, and afterwards to publish a rejoinder to Dr. Woods's examination of his volume. The controversy itself excited to an unusual degree the public interest. The part taken by Professor Ware was in the highest degree honorable to the gifts and temper of the author. For clear and ingenuous statement, for condensed and pertinent illustration, for reverence of truth, with candor and dignity in asserting it, his work has not been surpassed in the history of religious controversy. And they who would seek for a vindication of primitive Christianity, or a model of the spirit, generous and free, reverent and kind, with which it should be maintained, will not fail to find them here.

With the establishment, in 1816, of the Divinity School in Cambridge, the labors and responsibility of Dr. Ware were greatly increased. Before this period, the resident students in Divinity were accustomed to receive from the Hollis Professor and from the President of the University some general assistance in the prosecution of their studies, but excepting a course of exercises voluntarily undertaken by Professor Ware in 1811, no systematic instruction had been expected or given. Through the instrumentality of the Society for Promoting Theological Education funds were obtained for a more regular and permanent system; and from that time until his resignation in 1840, comprising nearly a quarter of a century, the services of Dr. Ware, as a member of the Theological Faculty, and instructor in the Divinity School, were of the highest value. Here, his industry, fidelity, and sound judgment, conspicuous everywhere, found their fullest exercise, and, united

* See *Christian Disciple* for August and September, 1819. Because these articles were in the form of a review, not distinctly assuming the name of a Reply, it was pretended by the friends of Mr. Stuart, that his Letters, notwithstanding the learning and signal ability of the review, were never answered.

with the singular fairness of his mind, earnest love of truth, and freedom from every form of dogmatism, could not fail to command the confidence and respect of all who were within the circle of his influence. "The candor of his mind," says Dr. Palfrey, "was remarkable. He trusted truth enough to give error every fair chance. Who ever knew him unjust to an adverse statement, or heard him sharpen an argument with a taunt." His fairness in the weighing of evidence and in exhibiting the arguments or objections of an opponent were proverbial with the students; so that within the walls of the College, where, with the natural liveliness of youth, great truths are sometimes shadowed forth under playful imagery, he was known by an appellation familiarly expressive of his scrupulous impartiality. They who from without imagined, or insinuated—and such were not wanting—that he could avail himself of the opportunities of his position or of the weight of his character to impress unduly his own opinions, or to make converts to his faith, little understood the man, and yet less the generous and elevated spirit, in which the whole system of instruction in the School was conducted. In an Address delivered before the Society for Promoting Theological Education by the author of the Discourse before us, this system is faithfully described as unlike that of every other institution of the kind, in permitting "no restriction to be placed on the freest Scriptural inquiry on the part either of pupil or of teacher. * * * It neither calls upon the young men themselves, nor sets to them the bad example of requiring their guides, to submit their faith to human dictation; to profess their subjection to formularies of man's device; least of all, to engage to follow the light, which the book of divine truth may disclose, no further than to a prescribed point."

Such were the principles, to which Professor Ware conscientiously adhered in the fulfilment of his duties, both in the College and the School. And that these principles had their full operation and were left to their natural effects, is sufficiently proved by the diversities of speculation that from time to time found place among the students, and the indulgence with which they were always viewed. Young men of various denominations or views were united in the School, and in no instance, we believe, was there the

least reserve or distrust in the expression of opinion, whatever it might be, or to whatever it might seem to tend. In truth, there were no limitations to the spirit of inquiry, and no restraints to the fullest utterance of thought, except those prescribed by the laws of decorum, and those which every reflecting mind will prescribe to itself under the law of reverence.

Happy must be esteemed the seminary that enjoyed so long the services of such an instructor. "Nearly all the ministers of the country, of one of the principal Christian denominations, have been his pupils," by whom his memory is associated with every sentiment of grateful respect; while "of the whole number of young men that have been educated in the academical department of the University in the two centuries and more since its institution, nearly two fifths have been graduated since he was engaged in its service." And when we consider the susceptibility to religious impression, which, with all that may be admitted of its frivolity, is still natural to the youthful age, and reflect how salutary must be the influence of such a mind, it would be difficult to estimate the amount of good he has rendered, the numbers he has trained to virtue, or the benefit, which, through the influence of their example, he may yet confer on multitudes who may never have known him. It was to transmit and perpetuate an influence like this, that it was commanded to the chosen people, "to make known what was told to the fathers unto the children, that so the generation to come might know it, even the children that should be born, who should arise and declare it unto their children."

Dr. Ware died on the 12th of July, 1845, in the eighty-second year of his age. His last years were years of infirmity. To the usual lot of old age was added the calamity of the loss of sight, which he sustained with the same unshaken trust and calm submission to God, with which he had met all the trials of life. He was deeply sensible to the blessings which had fallen to his lot, alike to those that could only be remembered and to those that still remained. "It is not possible," says he in a journal quoted in the Discourse, "for me to express sufficiently my gratitude to God for the prosperity he has given me;" and after an enumeration of other favors, in which the modesty

as well as moderation of his spirit is exhibited, he particularly adverts to his "sources of domestic satisfaction and peace, in the character, dispositions, conduct, and affections of all the nearest relations of life, unalloyed by a single exception of unamiableness of character, personal defect or misfortune."* It was the will, however, of the Maker of his frame, that his last months should be months of intellectual as well as physical decay. And did we not reflect, that life itself is but "a circumstance of being," we should be ready to number it among the mysteries of divine Providence, that a mind so constantly active and a judgment so invariably sound should be left to unconsciousness. But his friends were consoled by the recollection of his faithful use of all his gifts through the long period they were lent him; and they had been too well instructed by his own example, to regret unduly a temporary darkness, that was so soon to be followed by a cloudless and eternal day.

Of the contemporaries of Dr. Ware, honored among the lights and ornaments of their time, there are, doubtless, some who were more distinguished than was he by the splendor of their genius, by profound or varied learning, and by the gift of a persuasive eloquence. But for the qualities, which, combining intellectual with moral power, are most beneficial in their influence and most worthy of imitation,—reverence with patient investigation of truth, soundness with impartiality of judgment, courage and independence in the maintenance of his own opinions with the most considerate respect for the opinions and motives of others, wise views of life with earnest improvement of its opportunities, unshrinking fidelity to duty, and unhesitating submission to God from faith in the rectitude of his will, — who is there that has left a more instructive example, and for whom may we be assured of a brighter reward? F. P.

* The following passage from Dr. Palfrey's Discourse presents so engaging a picture of Dr. Ware's peculiar domestic happiness, that we cannot forego the satisfaction of transcribing it here.

"On the 20th of August 1835, in his seventy-second year, circumstances favored the gathering of all his race around his table, and they assembled, to the number of fifty, all his living children by birth and by the adoption of marriage, and all his grandchildren, to overjoy his heart, and take his blessing together, and grasp each other and both their revered parents in fraternal and filial embraces. What a group! What centres of influence, what objects of wide love and veneration, were met that day, from their several spheres, beneath that roof."—p. 35.

ART. IX. — PLATO AGAINST THE ATHEISTS.*

As an indication of the increasing taste for the study of the Platonic philosophy, we regard the present edition of the Tenth Book of the famous Dialogues on Law with great interest. There is no writer of ancient, or, possibly, of modern times, who will better repay an attentive perusal, than the broad-shouldered son of Ariston. He has an almost inexhaustible mine of the richest thought; but this is not his greatest excellence. He is the most suggestive of all the writers of antiquity. Discoursing as he does upon those subjects which interest the human mind most deeply, he leads the careful student to independent investigation: — a result in the highest degree desirable. It is this power — more striking in him, than in others who have treated upon the same, or kindred topics — that always characterizes the truly great writer. A few at the present day possess it. In English literature Carlyle is præeminent for it: although his style is barbarous in the extreme and worthy of the severest censure. France may well be proud of the venerable La Mennais, who unites this excellence with a lofty, pure, and elegant diction, that discovers at the same time deep erudition, severe scholarship and transcendent genius. These two great men stand almost alone, at the present time, in their respective countries. They however compare with Plato in scarcely anything else: — Carlyle less than the gray-haired Frenchman, since he touches questions less akin to those dwelt upon by the Greek philosopher; who, although living in an age remote from Christianity, insisted, with all the argument and eloquent persuasion of a powerful intellect and intense morality, upon many of those immortal truths which the Christian now folds to his heart in hope and love.

The genuineness of the twelve Dialogues on Law, of which this book forms a part, has indeed been questioned:

* *Plato contra Atheos. Plato against the Atheists; or, the Tenth Book of the Dialogue on Laws, accompanied with critical Notes, and followed by extended Dissertations on some of the main Points of the Platonic Philosophy and Theology, especially as compared with the Holy Scriptures.* By TAYLER LEWIS, L. L. D., Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in the University of New York. New York. 1845. 12mo. pp. 378.

but no reasonable doubt will arise in the mind of one conversant with the other works which are universally attributed to the same great author. The style and manner of reasoning are the same; and if Plato wrote the "*Politicus*," the "*Republic*," or the "*Timæus*," he wrote the "*Laws*" also. The editor of the present work founds an argument for the genuineness of the "*Laws*" upon its resemblance to the "*Parmenides*." He should have recollected—for surely he must know—that the "*Parmenides*" itself has been, and still is, the subject of much critical controversy; and though he might succeed in showing the resemblance of the "*Laws*" to it, he would not have established the claims of either. Setting resemblances aside, however, we may safely assert that if the "*Laws*"—a work equal in power of thought and execution with the "*Republic*,"—had been the production of any other man, his name would have been handed down to us; for he must have possessed a mind not only similar, but equal in originality, keenness and depth with that of the author of the "*Republic*" and the "*Philebus*," and would have had equal claims to our regard and admiration.

Plato is generally and justly lauded by his admirers for the logic, beauty, and sublimity, which he displays when discoursing either of the human soul and its immortality, or of the Divine soul and its eternity. This work, chosen by the editor "as one of the best central positions from whence to make excursions over a large part of the Platonic philosophy," possesses a very great degree of conclusive reasoning, and much of the philosopher's accustomed beauty and power of illustration.

With regard to the title which the editor has seen fit to affix to his book we must take exception; for it cannot, correctly speaking, be entitled "*Plato against the Atheists*," inasmuch as the arguments and penal laws which follow, are not directed against the Atheists alone. Plato treats of three classes of offenders:—first, Atheists; secondly, Theists, who deny a Providence; and thirdly, those who acknowledge the existence and presiding providence of the gods, while they deny their immutability, and believe that they can be propitiated by the prayers and sacrifices of the wicked. Now Atheism, or a disbelief in the existence of God, or the gods, is one thing; and Theism, or a belief in

the existence of the Deity, although at the same time embracing a denial of his immediate and superintending providence, is quite another. Still farther removed from Atheism is the belief in the efficacy of individual sacrifice and prayer in averting the merited punishments of Heaven. Had the book been entitled "Plato against the Heretics," the title might have been less inaccurate.

The Greek text, — which, together with the critical notes upon it, occupies only eighty-three out of three hundred and seventy-eight pages, — conforms to that of Bekker and Ast, whose editions vary slightly from that of Ficinus Florentinus; and for clearness and beauty is worthy of all commendation as a specimen of typographical neatness and editorial care. It is to be hoped that other editors of the Greek classics will take this edition as a provocative to "good works," if not entirely for a model.

We propose to glance at the spirit and design of this Tenth Book of Laws, and see what they are, and what Plato intended they should be.

The *dramatis personæ* are Clinias, a native of Crete, Megillus, the Spartan, and an Athenian traveller, who meets them near Cnossa, a town of Crete. This traveller, who carries on the philosophical part of the colloquy, is termed by the editor "the Socrates of the dialogue." From internal evidence it appears that Plato had himself in view: for once forgetting the extreme delicacy of his self-hiding modesty, which almost invariably leads him to make his great master the principal person of the debate.

The Dialogue on Laws has already advanced through nine books, and this is the first of the concluding three, opening with a strong recognition of the right of property; the violation of which Plato asserts to lie at the foundation of all immediate personal injuries, to the consideration of which the preceding book has been devoted. In addition to the wrongs committed against society having their rise in a thirst for the enjoyment of wealth, regardless of the mode of getting it, and the consequent violation of the right of property, Plato takes note of those wrongs, also, which spring from the mere turbulence and disregard of restraint, and insolent and impious bearing, of "the young men." These latter wrongs he divides into six classes; viz.: — first, irreligious levity and mockery of the sacred

rites which were performed in the public places of the tribes, or wards of the city:—second, the same conduct with regard to private devotions or household gods, and the robbery and desecration of tombs, on which, as was the case among the rich families of Athens, great wealth was expended in costly ornaments and tasteful decorations:—third, and distinct from the preceding two, was the disregard of parental authority and insolent behavior at home:—fourth, seizing and carrying away, in despite of the magistrates, their badges or instruments of office:—fifth, the prosecution of any citizen without good reason, or from mere motives of malice: and sixth, and last, impious speech or action, or blasphemy of the gods. This last class of crimes he divides into three, and then subdivides each of the three species of this class into two others—making this last class of offences the genus of six separate species. It is with this genus and its subdivisions that the Tenth Book is occupied.*

The three classes of offenders and their distinguishing beliefs are thus introduced at the second page. "Let this be understood," says the Athenian guest, "that no one believing in the deities according to the law will ever do an impious deed or speak an unlawful word. But he that does is liable to one of these three charges;—either that he does not believe in the existence of the gods; or, he believes that, although they exist, they do not exert a

* In his statement of the argument, Dr. Lewis has omitted fully to mention this logical arrangement of the six primary divisions of the wrongs—*ὕβρις*—and turbulence—*ἀκολασία*—of which young men, more than others, were supposed to be guilty. He notices, however, the three greater and three minor divisions which Plato makes of this same sixth class of the crimes and criminals treated of in the work, and we should be led to suppose that he merely overlooked so small a matter in his haste to give an outline of the main body of the Dialogue, were it not for an unlucky note on the second page; where, in a critical remark on the plural of *ὕβρις*, he enumerates five, only, of the six classes. Now it so happens that, in the text, Plato himself enumerates only five, prefixing to each its appropriate number; and when he comes to the sixth, he omits its number, as it is the last, and, from its being the subject of the whole book, the most important of them all. Still Plato does not leave anything to be guessed at by his readers, but immediately on finishing the fifth class makes the remark, that he should now attend to the consideration of the crime and punishment of those who despise the gods: which remark is, in fact, the real beginning of the work; the mention of other crimes being merely introductory. This however does not excuse carelessness in a scholar of any pretensions, and the editor should have examined the course of the argument more thoroughly.

watchful care over mankind; or, thirdly, that they can be propitiated when approached with sacrifices and prayers." * Immediately after follow the arguments against the belief of the three classes respectively; commencing with Atheism, or a belief that the gods do not exist.

It must be kept in view, that Plato, according to his assertions in the very outset, considers atheism to be a kind of disease incidental to the young men, which would be outgrown as years and experience advanced. In view of this he admonishes the young man, that his opinions will materially change as he grows older; that he will not be the first whose views have been altered in regard to this matter; but that many before him have held opinions as atheistical as his own, yet, almost universally, "did not continue from youth to old age to hold that there are no gods." This is rather unsatisfactory food for a doubting, hungry mind. At any rate a goodly proportion of modern readers would think it so, whatever nourishing fitness it may have had for the intellectual stomach of Athenian atheism; which had already failed to be convinced by the order and harmony of nature, "the earth and sun and all the stars, and the seasons so pleasantly varied each month and year;" and furthermore, indeed, saw no convincing significance in the prayers and adorations of both Greeks and barbarians, when all, at morn or even, knelt to the rising and the setting sun, "or moon of paler ray." But Plato by no means leaves the matter with this admonition. He is about proposing a law against the atheist, and wishes to establish beforehand that atheism is unwarranted by reason. In the argument he fully establishes what he sets out to prove, namely, the existence of some first and original Cause. Passing by the order and beauty of the universe, and the argument of Socrates from fitness and benevolence, which is so much insisted on by the school of Paley and Butler, he launches out, at once, into the ether of abstract reasoning, and shows, by a conclusive argument from *motion*, that a primal *mover* must necessarily exist.

The popular belief in Athens at the time of Plato was, that the earth was fixed immovably in space, and that the

* Opp. ed. Ficin. p. 364.

heavenly bodies revolved around it. Everything upon the earth not animated was inert, and, if moved, was moved by some extraneous force. Matter had no power of self-locomotion. The bodies of the animate creation were material, but they were moved by the spirit of life within them. Man walked upon the earth: his soul originated and continued the motion of his material body. The butterfly, sweet emblem of immortality, spread its rich and delicate wings on the summer air, or lifted them with palpitating motion to the warm sunlight while resting on flower or marble sepulchre: its little spirit was the motive power. The volcano sent forth its flames and flaming lava, and trembled to its base: some incarcerated giant was wrestling with the bars of his subterranean prison. The streams danced on in joyfulness, singing to the rocks through which they flowed: naiads and sylphs were there invisibly urging them on, and making melody with their own sweet voices to beguile the gentle toil. The sea rose upward to the sky in billowy majesty, or flung itself with loud hurrahs upon the echoing shore: Neptune was riding abroad in his shell-chariot, with trident and crown and flowing beard of snow. Matter had no self-motion: spirit moved the whole. The planets pursued their courses in the heavens, moving on from year to year: deities they were; or else, if not, were at least the bodies of deities, who, robed in fire, ruled their respective spheres. Spirit was in the heavens above, to move, as in the earth below. Spirit was the universal cause of motion. But some denied this, and refused, and perhaps derided religious homage; saying, that the sun and the stars were material, that earthquakes were — earthquakes, and fire — simple fire, and nothing more. The state was built up on the theogony: — the theogony derided or denied, the state trembled. The atheist was the enemy of society.

The popular mind had no arguments at hand to combat the denial of the gods; because it believed in their existence on false or frivolous grounds. The premises on which it relied being denied as absurd or fanciful, conclusions drawn from them were powerless. Thus the "disease" of atheism readily infected the younger and less submissive of the citizens, whom neither interest nor fear of authority deterred from independence of thought, or freedom and

turbulence of speech and action. It was Plato's intention to counteract this malady by two powerful medicines — argument and force: — the first, to convince the honest, thoughtful doubter; the second, to awe the vicious and the headstrong: — and thus to preserve his ideal state from the danger which at all times threatened his native city.

Plato saw the fallacies on which the popular belief rested; and in this argument for the existence of the gods has demonstrated all that can be demonstrated without a divine revelation. Passing by, for the time, any argument drawn from the regularity of the motion of the celestial bodies, he at once seizes the idea of *motion in the abstract*; and in the following argument, slightly paraphrased and condensed from the original, attacks with singular success the cavils of the atheist.

‘Let us grant,’ virtually says the Athenian to the atheist, ‘that the sun, moon, and stars are neither gods, nor the bodies of gods, but mere inert and lifeless matter, as you assert. You will of course admit that they *move*; for to this all men will testify. You will admit also that all motion is produced in two ways: first, by a power self-acting, like the movements of men and other animals; secondly, by a power *not* self-acting, like the movement produced by one stone being thrust against another, so that the stone before at rest is moved out of its place, or the movement of an arrow flying from the bow. But all self-acting power resides only in the animal kingdom, where life, or spirit is. The motion of the heavenly bodies cannot be self-acting, for you have just asserted, and we admitted, that the planets were neither spirit nor body of spirit, but merely lifeless, inert matter. Therefore their motion must belong to the second class, namely, motion not self-acting, but communicated by some extraneous power, by which these bodies are forced along in their celestial courses. Now this extraneous power is either self-acting, or it is not. If it is not self-acting, then it is the product, immediately or remotely, of some other power which is self-acting. But self-acting powers may be separated into two grand divisions. First, or inferior, are those which, although self-motive and capable of moving others, are at the same time acted on or moved by some other power: second, or superior, are those self-acting or self-moving powers which are

not, and cannot by their nature be, acted on or moved by others, but move, or act on, others at pleasure. But we have said that all self-moving powers have life; therefore this second or superior class of powers are alive. *These are the superior gods.*'

The existence of living deities whose presence could not be perceived by the human eye was indeed the common, yet vague belief, and had been for ages, but it was first fully demonstrated by Plato. After this, the beauty, order, and regularity of the universe evinced to the minds of his disciples the wisdom and intellectual greatness of the gods who formed and ruled it. The atheist might now assert that the sun was merely matter or flame, and the stars but drops of fire, and still not shake the religious belief of Plato's disciples, for they had a reason for their belief which no such assertion, however plausible or true, could move or undermine. Still the atheist might be regarded as an enemy of society at large, which was not thus enlightened.

The belief in spirit existing independent of body was now vivified and strengthened, so that what was before a mere fancy became, in the minds of those who understood the new philosophy, real and tangible. If spirit might thus live independent of bodily form, then could the spirit of man also live after its body had returned to the dust whence it came. Here was the argument for the future life of the human soul flowing, directly, from the proof of the existence of the gods.

It has been oftentimes asserted by admirers of Plato, who have pretended to understand him, that in his reasonings he arrived not only at the existence of divine beings, the gods of the ancients, but also, at the Hebrew idea of the one God. This is wholly unwarranted; for Plato neither believed nor asserted anything of the kind. His was pre-eminently a metaphysical and logical mind, although a poetical and imaginative one; and of logic and metaphysics he never lost sight, although he often did of poetry. When he uses the terms, "the deity," "the best," "the highest," "the all," he does so to express the *genus*, or kind, of which all spirits are the species. Thus the spirit of a beast, the spirit of an insect, and the spirit of a man are species belonging to the same genus, (to wit, *soul*,) as

the inferior and superior gods. A knowledge of this will materially assist the student in reconciling the apparent contradictions with which he meets in Plato's works, when "the deity," or "over-soul," is spoken of.

That this is not a hastily formed, or groundless opinion, as far, at any rate, as the Tenth Book of the Laws is concerned, will be readily seen by a reference to Plato's own words.

"*Athenian*. Ought we not to affirm, necessarily, that *soul*, which dwells in and governs all things that are moved, also dwells in and governs heaven?

Clinias. Most certainly.

Ath. Is it one, or many? Many — if you will permit me to answer for you — for we ought not to recognise less than two; one benevolent, and the other the contrary.

Clin. You have spoken most correctly." *

Another quotation on this point will perhaps suffice; although others of the same tenor might be easily adduced.

"*Ath*. Now therefore it will be easy to affirm distinctly, as a necessary conclusion, since *soul* leads round all the planets in their orbits, that either it is the best soul or its contrary, which attends to and directs this circular motion.

Clin. O guest! after what has been said it would not be ingenuous to say that any other than *soul*, whether one or many, having all excellence, thus gives orbital motion to all the planets.

Ath. You perfectly understand my thought, O Clinias; but you must supply, still farther, something which is wanting.

Clin. What is it?

Ath. Have not the sun, and moon, and the other planets, *each* a soul, if soul really gives this circular motion?

Clin. What would hinder?

Ath. Let us then frame our reasonings touching *one soul*, so that they may appear adapted to all the heavenly natures.

Clin. The soul of which?

Ath. Of the sun every man may see the body, but no one the soul: neither the soul of any other body, nor of animals, whether living or dead. But there are many grounds for believing that this *genus*, by its nature so wholly incapable of being perceived by us through any of the bodily senses, is yet capable of being known."†

* Page 31.—Opp. ed. Ficin. p. 669.

† Page 36.—Ficin. p. 669.

Having finished discoursing on the first kind of false belief, the Dialogue proceeds with a consideration of the second form of irreligion noticed at the commencement; namely, that the gods take no care of men or notice of their actions, and, therefore that the good receive no reward, and the bad no punishment at their hands. This, Plato suggests, may arise from beholding the prosperity of the wicked, and seeing them rise to wealth and power through the most flagrant means, and at last, dying full of honors in an advanced old age; their children, and grandchildren after them inheriting their riches and places of power. By several illustrations—such as the physician, the general, and naval commander, who attend, in the management of the trusts committed to them, not only to the greater, but, also, to the minor details of their professions—he shows, by analogy, that the gods keep a watchful care over everything in the universe, whether great or small, and would be considered culpable if they did not: for sometimes “even the smallest stone is necessary in a building to the firmness of the largest one,” and the most minute action may have the greatest influence upon the ultimate welfare of, not only a man’s whole life, but of the whole universe. “You forget,” says Plato* to the “young man,” “that everything is made for the benefit of the whole, in order that the existence of the whole may be happy: and that all things are not created for you, but you for all;” and that every individual of the human race is subject to the same law. This doctrine of the connexion of the individual with the whole, and that he is created for the benefit of the universe, has become a favorite idea. Yet that any man can be said, strictly speaking, to be created merely for an appendage to the whole, is not extremely clear; since the whole is but an aggregation of individuals.

In this argument against those who denied that the gods rewarded men according to their works, the doctrine of future punishment is distinctly and impressively asserted. Guilt may prosper in this life, but will receive its deserts in the next. “He that is evil, shall depart to the souls that are evil; and he that is good, to such as are good. As in life, so shall it be in death; like shall be joined to like, in both work and recompense.”† What Plato believed, and

* Page 58. — Ficin. p. 671.

† Page 62. — Ficin. p. 672.

taught as the deduction of his own reason, our Saviour revealed to the world as truths which his Father and our Father had sent him into the world to teach to the sons of men. The conclusions at which a careful and honest reason arrives are seldom, if ever, wrong. How great, then, are the powers which a kind and all-wise God has given to us poor creatures of a day !

The third part of the argument, directed against the belief that the gods might be propitiated and appeased by the supplications and sacrifices of the wicked, is introduced by the Athenian's asking his fellow-traveller and their venerable host " what officers, to compare small things with great, were like the gods ? " Whether naval commanders, or generals at the head of armies were like them ? Or whether charioteers contending in the stadium, or physicians whose care is of diseases, were like the gods ? Or whether they could be compared to husbandmen carefully watching the crops in the season of rains, or to those who lead a pastoral life, attending flocks and herds ; or to watch-dogs guarding the tent or fold ? All of whom might be corrupted by gifts and bribes to betray the interests which they were appointed to guard. If the gods could thus be moved by the prayers and gifts of unjust men, then were they partakers of wickedness and guilty of great wrong. But the attribute of justice is essential to the idea of an upright *man*. The gods are greater and better than an upright man : therefore they cannot be unjust, nor capable of being moved by the prayers and sacrifices of unjust men. From this argument it appears that Plato considered the gods to be inexorable in their judgment of mankind.

Having finished the three divisions of his argument, Plato concludes with instituting the punishments due to each class of unbelievers according to the degree of their criminality. And, in the first place, he would have three prisons erected in a city for all kinds of criminals : — one, a very large receiving prison, to be situated conveniently near the Forum ; another, as a House of Correction, to be situated near the chief rendezvous of the " night-police ; " and the third, in the least frequented and most lonely part of the city, to be denominated the " Prison of punishment ; " answering very nearly to the modern state-prison.

The Atheists, he goes on to divide into two classes : one

of which openly derided the established worship and sneered at all religion. This class of offenders he holds to be worthy of death. But the second class, who were careful not to sneer at or deride religious duties, but avoided scoffers and loved rather to consort with the good and pious, he held should receive only warning and imprisonment: whether for life, or not, he does not say.

Those who denied the watchful care and providence of the gods, he also divides into two classes. The first, of inoffensive manners, whom he would confine in the house of correction for a period not less than five years; during which time no person should be allowed to visit or speak with them, except the members of the night-police, whose duty it would be, in such cases, to converse with the prisoners on matters pertaining to the welfare of their souls. If again found guilty of the same crime, persons of this class were to be punished with death. This was also the punishment of the second division of these deniers of Divine providence; who, in addition to their dangerous belief, led turbulent and vicious lives.

He likewise divided those believing in the efficacy of prayers and bribes to appease the offended gods, into two classes: the first, of inoffensive life, to be imprisoned, like those denying Divine providence; the second, together with necromancers and wizards who pretended to power over demons, and those who took money and gifts for interceding with the gods to stay the vengeance which would otherwise fall upon the heads of the guilty, — a singular allusion to an abuse, whose parallel is intimately interwoven with the history of the Romish Church, — to be imprisoned for life, and constantly kept in irons, in the "prison of punishment," and fed only by the menials of the prison, no free-born person being ever allowed to visit them. When one of these prisoners died, his body was to be cast beyond the limits of the city, without burial; and if any free-born person should bury the body, he should be liable to the like punishment, whenever any one could be found willing to testify against him. If the prisoner had children, for whom the city could find employment, they were to be declared orphans, and, as such, delivered to the proper officers on the same day that the prisoner was condemned.

In addition to these penal enactments, the book closes

with an ordinance providing for the public worship of the gods, in the temples, where the legal priests and priestesses should receive offerings and conduct the ceremonies in a pure and holy manner. With this is given a prohibition of all private sacrifice, and nearly all private worship of whatever kind or description. It would not seem, from this, that Plato had a very exalted notion of the rights of conscience and freedom of speech, so much insisted on at the present day: but it clearly indicates, that the loftiest moral and religious teacher is not, necessarily, also the best lawgiver. A division of intellectual, as well as physical, labor is demanded, if it is wished to secure to society the conservation and advancement of its vital interests. The union of church and state, except in a pure theocracy, like that of the Hebrews, is never, and from the nature of things never can be, beneficial to society. It is one thing to elevate and refine the morality of the world by the persuasion of argument, and another to perform the same thing by the strong arm of legislation. The history of mankind appears to show, that while the former has built up institutions which time can neither render obsolete nor the insane spirit of radicalism destroy, the latter has left no abiding impress upon the hearts of men, and scarcely anything but faint and fading traces of its momentary power. Appeals to the individual are more effectual and permanent than legal enactments, which bear only upon society as a mass; for, declaim as earnestly and eloquently as we will, it is as true of society as of individuals, that "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh;" since every permanent law is but the expression of the heart of a people, and is only vivid and salutary when it thus originates. Elevate and refine individual morality, and in the process of time, slowly but surely, elevation and refinement will develop themselves upon the face of society; while those who think to reform the world by a sudden and spasmodic effort, err most lamentably. The seed must be suffered to remain in the soil and germinate beneath the soft influence of rain and warming sun, throughout the spring-time, before the summer can see the tender blade, or the autumn return to us the rich, bending ear of the golden harvest. The moral teacher in like manner must wait patiently for the springing and final maturity of the princi-

ples which he sows in the bosom of society, and should not grow peevish and distrustful because he cannot at once see the fruit of his labors.

Legal interference with religious opinion has always been productive of serious injury to the cause of true religion, and it seems strange to us that the editor of this work, living as he does in an age when the history of the world is so plainly read and in a country whose institutions are wisely at war with bigotry, should feel and think so narrowly that he can seek to infuse the spirit of intolerance into the minds of the young; for whom, he tells us in his preface, this edition is especially intended. There are many forms of irreligion which work incalculable mischief in society, undermining and overthrowing the very pillars that support it. Atheism, if suffered to pursue its legitimate and oftentimes avowed ends, would render all this fair world a desert, and spread over it a pall of gloom on which one could not look without a cold and deathly shudder; dead bodies and yawning graves would be overhung by a sunless, starless firmament, and every leaf and bending flower would drip with a chill dew of blood. Intolerance, however, is no antidote for this terrible pestilence. Has this disease fastened upon a man, intolerance will only aggravate the symptoms and render his recovery desperate. The sick should not be treated harshly, but with kindness. They should not be shunned, and warned by the loud and harsh voice of selfish prudence not to approach our dwellings. And above all things, for sweet pity's sake, let us forbear to teach our children to mock and deride and hate them.

Of the many valuable and interesting hints which the editor has given us in the extended "*excursus*" appended to the text, we have no time, at present, to speak as we would like; and this is of less consequence, as they have, for the most part, but very little to do with the elucidation of this work, although much to do, with the elucidation of Plato's general system of philosophy.* We will conclude by merely saying, that while we recognize the scholarlike

* We had intended to point out the error into which the editor has fallen with regard to the Platonic use of the words *εἶδος* and *λόγος*; no venial error, one would think, in a scholar of sufficient love of the great Athenian to induce the writing of above three hundred pages of notes, besides the editing of the text.

care with which this edition is abundantly marked, and while we praise its editor for his exertions in bringing to the public eye this portion of Plato's works in so desirable a form, we must kindly but severely warn both him and others, that the spirit he has shown a desire to foster in the young is one unworthy of a man, and should be foreign to a Christian.

R. H. B.

ART. X.—PRISONS AND PRISON DISCIPLINE.*

It is with a feeling of deference that we welcome Miss Dix's Remarks on Prisons and Prison Discipline. Her peculiar and exalted labors in the cause of humanity, her renunciation of the refined repose that has such attractions for her sex, and which was her lot, to go about doing good, enduring the vicissitudes of our changeful climate, the hardships of travel, and, more trying still, the coldness of the world, have awakened towards her a sense of gratitude,

* 1. *Remarks on Prisons and Prison Discipline in the United States.* By D. L. DIX. Second Edition. Philadelphia. 1845. 8vo. pp. 108.

2. *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Prison Discipline Society.* Boston. 1844. 8vo. pp. 116.

3. *Prisons and Prisoners.* By JOSEPH ADSHEAD. With Illustrations. London. 1845. 8vo. pp. 320.

4. *Report of the Surveyor General of Prisons on the Construction, Ventilation and Details of the Pentonville Prison.* London. 1844. fol. pp. 30.

5. *Revue Penitentiaire et des Institutions Préventives*, sous la direction de M. MOREAU-CHRISTOPHE. Tom. II. Paris. 1845. 8vo. pp. 659.

6. *Du Projet de Loi sur la Réforme des Prisons.* Par M. LEON FAUCHER. Paris. 1844. 8vo.

7. *Considerations sur la Réclusion Individuelle des Détenus.* Par W. H. SURINGAR. Traduit du Hollandais sur la seconde édition. Précédés d'une préface, et suivrés du Résumé de la question Pénitentiaire. Par L. M. MOREAU-CHRISTOPHE. Paris et Amsterdam. 1843. 8vo. pp. 131.

8. *Nordamerikas Sittliche Sustande.* (The Moral Condition of North America.) Von Dr. N. S. JULIUS. 2 Vols. Leipzig. 1839. 8vo.

9. *Archiv des Criminalrechts, herausgegeben von den Professoren ABOGG, BIRNBAUM, HEFFTER, MITTERMAIER, WACHTER, ZACHARIA.* (Archives of Criminal law, edited by Professors etc.) Halle. 1843. 12mo. pp 597.

and invested her name with an interest which cannot fail to attach to anything from her pen.

The chosen and almost exclusive sphere of woman's influence is at home, in the warmth of the family hearth. It is but rarely that she is able to mingle with effect in the active labors, which influence mankind. We read with incredulity of the feminine expounder of the Roman law, who illustrated by her lectures the Universities of Padua and Bologna; and the charities of St. Elizabeth of Hungary seem legendary in the dim distance; though, in our own day, the classical productions of the widow of Wyttenbach, crowned a Doctor of Philosophy by the University of Marsburg, and most especially the beautiful labors of Mrs. Fry, only recently closed by death, are high examples of the potent influence which may be exerted by the gentler sex, even beyond the charmed circle of domestic life. Among these examples Miss Dix will receive a place which her modesty would forbid her to claim. Her name will be enrolled among the benefactors of her age. It will be pronounced with gratitude, when the heroes in the ignoble strifes of politics and of war shall be disregarded or forgotten.

"Can we forget the generous few,
Who, touched with human woe, redressive sought
Into the horrors of the gloomy jail,
Unpitied and unheard, where misery moans,
Where sickness pines?"

Miss Dix's labors embrace the penitentiaries, jails, almshouses, poor-houses and asylums for the Insane, throughout the Northern and Middle States; all of which she has visited, turning always a face of gentleness even towards crime, in the hope of comforting the unfortunate, of softening their hard lot, of sweetening their bitter cup, while she obtained such information with regard to their condition, as might, when properly represented, draw towards them the attention of the public. This labor of love she has pursued earnestly, devotedly, sparing neither time nor strength, neglecting no person, however abject or lowly, frequenting the cells of all, and by word and deed seeking to strengthen their hearts. The melody of her voice still sounds in our ears, as she read in the long corridor of the Philadelphia Penitentiary a Psalm of consolation; nor will

that scene be quickly effaced from the memory of any who were then present. Her Memorials, addressed to the Legislatures of different States, have divulged a mass of facts, derived from her personal and most minute observation, particularly with regard to the treatment of the Insane, which were remarkably calculated to arouse the sensibilities of a humane people. She is in herself alone a whole Prison Discipline Society. To her various efforts may be applied, without suspicion of exaggeration, those magical words in which Burke has commemorated the kindred charity of Howard, when he says that he travelled "not to survey the sumptuousness of palaces, nor the stateliness of temples; not to make accurate measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur, nor to form a scale of the curiosities of modern art; not to collect medals, nor to collate manuscripts; but to dive into the depths of dungeons, to plunge into the infection of hospitals, to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression and contempt; to remember the forgotten; to attend to the neglected; to visit the forsaken, and to compare and to collate the distresses of men."

Her "Remarks" contain some of the general results of her observations on different points connected with the discipline of Prisons; as, on the duration of sentences; pardons and the pardoning power; diet of prisoners; water; clothing; ventilation; heat; health; visitor's fees; dimensions of lodging cells in the State penitentiaries; moral, religious and general instruction in prisons; reformation of prisoners; the Penitentiary systems of the United States; and Houses of Refuge for Juvenile Offenders. It would be interesting and instructive to examine carefully the conclusions on all these important topics, which have the sanction of her disinterested experience; but our limits will restrain us, on the present occasion, to a single topic.

We are anxious to take advantage of the interest which Miss Dix's publication may excite, and also of the authority of her name, to say a few words on a question which has been much agitated, and is the subject of many books, — the comparative merits of what are called the Pennsylvania and Auburn Penitentiary systems. This question is, perhaps, the most important of all that grow out of Prisons;

for it affects, in a measure, all others. It involves the construction of the prison, and its administration.*

The subject of Prison Discipline, and particularly the question between the two systems, has occupied of late years a large share of the attention of jurists and philanthropists. They have been discussed in all the languages of Europe, to such an extent that the titles alone of the works relating to them would occupy a considerable space in a volume of Bibliography. We have before us, for instance, a list of no less than eleven works in Italian. To Howard, a man of true greatness, whose name will stand high on the roll of the world's benefactors, belongs the signal honor of first awakening the sympathies of the English people in this great work of benevolence. By his travels and labors, he became familiar with the actual character of prisons, and was enabled to spread before the public an accumulation of details, which fill the reader with horror and disgust. Before his day, scarcely a single ray of humanity had penetrated the dreary confines of an English prison. Idleness, debauchery, disease, blasphemy, squalor, wretchedness, brutality, mingled as in a hateful sty. All the unfortunate children of crime, the hardened felon, whose soul was blurred by repeated guilt, and the youthful victim, who had just yielded to temptation, but whose countenance still mantled with the blush of virtue and whose soul had not lost all its original brightness, without any separation or classification, were crowded together, in one promiscuous, fermenting mass of wickedness, with scanty food and raiment, with few or no means of cleanliness, the miserable prey of the contagion of disease and the worse contagion of vice and sin. The abject social degradation of the ancient Britons, in the picture drawn by Julius Cæsar, excites our wonder to a less degree, than the well-authenticated misery of the poor prisoners in the polite annals of George III.

Of all the circumstances which conspired to produce this misery, it cannot be doubted that the promiscuous commingling of the prisoners, in one animal herd, was the most

* Beyond the constant practical interest which it offers, there is a special one at the present moment, in the circumstance that the citizens of Boston are about to erect a new jail, the plan of which is still undetermined.

to be deplored. While this continued, all hope of reform was vain. It was, therefore, with especial warmth, that Howard pleaded for the *separation* of prisoners, especially at night, "wishing to have so many small rooms or cabins, that each criminal may sleep alone;" * and called attention to the fact that in Holland, "in most of the prisons for criminals there are so many rooms, that each prisoner is kept separate."†

The importance of the principle of separation had been first recognized at Rome, as long ago as 1703, by Clement XI., in the foundation of the hospital of St. Michael, or the House of Refuge, where separate dormitories were provided for each prisoner. Over the portal of this asylum, in letters of gold, were inscribed the words of wisdom which Howard adopted as the motto of his labors, and which indicate the spirit that should preside over the administration of all prisons:—*Parum est improbos coercere pœna, nisi probos efficias disciplina*:—It is of small consequence to restrain the wicked by punishment, unless you render them good by discipline. The first and most important step in this discipline is, to remove the prisoners from all evil influences; which can only be done by separation from each other, and by filling their time with labor.

In furtherance of this principle, and that he might reduce it to practice, as early as 1779, Howard, in conjunction with Sir William Blackstone, drew an Act of Parliament, in the preamble of which is an enunciation of the cardinal truth, which lies at the foundation of all effective prison discipline.

"Whereas," says the Act, "if many offenders convicted of crimes for which transportation has been usually inflicted, *were ordered to solitary imprisonment, accompanied by well-regulated labor and religious instruction*, it might be the means under Providence, not only of deterring others from the commission of crimes, *but also of reforming the individuals*," etc. Noble words! Here for the first time in English legislation the reformation of the prisoner is proposed as a distinct object. This Act, though passed, was unfortunately never carried into execution, through the perverseness, it is said, of one of the persons

* Howard on Prisons, p. 22.

† Ibid. p. 45.

who was associated with Howard, as a Commissioner for erecting a suitable prison.

As early as 1790, a law was passed in Pennsylvania, which is of importance in the history of this subject, showing an appreciation of the principle of seclusion with labor. In the preamble it is declared, that the previous laws for the punishment of criminals had failed of success, "from the *communication* with each other not being sufficiently restrained within the places of confinement, and it is hoped *that the addition of unremitted solitude to laborious employment*, as far as it can be effected, will contribute as much to reform as to deter;" and the Act further provides that certain persons "*shall be kept separate and apart from each other*, as much as the convenience of the building will admit." As late as 1821, another Act was passed in Pennsylvania, providing "for the erection of a Penitentiary for the *separate confinement of the convicts at labor*." In pursuance of this Act the Penitentiary was built at Philadelphia, which afforded the first example on an extended scale of the application of the principle of the absolute separation of the convicts from each other, combined with labor. And this Penitentiary has given its name to the class of prisons, which are founded on this principle. In Europe the state of Pennsylvania is hardly more known for her shameful neglect to pay the interest of her public debt, than for her admired system of Prison Discipline.

It should be borne in mind, that this system is distinguishable from one of *solitary* confinement with labor; much more, from one of mere solitary confinement without labor. An intemperate opponent, who has been too rash or too prejudiced to recognize all the truth, has often characterized it as *the Solitary system*, and by this term not unfrequently aroused a feeling against it, which must disappear before a candid inquiry. The soul shrinks with horror from the cell of perpetual solitude, as repugnant to the unceasing yearnings of the nature of man. The terrors of the Bastille, whether revealed in the pictured page of Victor Hugo or in the grave description of dungeons where toads and rats had made their home, contain nothing which fills us with such dread, as the unbroken solitude which was the lot of many of its miserable victims. We have the testimony of Lafayette, whose own further expe-

rience at Olmutz should not be neglected, as to its effect. "I repaired to the scene," he says, "on the second day of the demolition, and found that all the prisoners had been deranged by their solitary confinement, except one. He had been a prisoner twenty-five years, and was led forth during the height of the tumultuous riot of the people, whilst engaged in tearing down the building. He looked around with amazement, for he had seen nobody for that space of time, and before night he was so much affected, that he became a confirmed maniac." The woful experience of these unfortunates was revived in the prisoners at Spielberg, and Silvio Pellico has left a record of sufferings, in the perpetual solitude of his cell, which he vainly sought to relieve by crying out to the iron bars of his window, to the hills in the distance, and to the birds that sported in freedom in the air.

Such a system is an engine of cruelty and tyranny, excluding every rational idea of improvement or reformation. It is kindred to the iron boot, the thumb-screw, the iron glove, and other terrible instruments of a vengeance-loving government. It hardens, abases, or overthrows the intellect and character. Such a punishment is justly rejected in a Christian age, which has learned to consider the reformation of the offender among its essential aims.

Names often have the importance of things; and it cannot be doubted that the ignorant or dishonest application of the term *solitary* to the system pursued in Pennsylvania, is a strong reason for the opposition which it has encountered.

The *Separate* system has but one essential condition; the absolute separation of the prisoners from intercourse of any kind with each other. On this may be ingrafted labor, instruction, and even constant society with the officers of the prison, or with virtuous persons. In fact, these have become, in a greater or less degree, component parts of the system. In constant employment the prisoner finds peace; and in the society with which he is indulged, an innocent relaxation and a healthy influence. This is the Pennsylvania system.

Another and rival system, first established in the "Maison de Force" at Ghent, but borrowing its name from the Auburn Penitentiary of New York, where it was first introduced

in 1816, by a remarkable disciplinarian, Elam Lynds, has occupied much attention. Under this the prisoners are separated only at night, each sleeping in a small cell or dormitory by himself. During the day they labor together in shops, or in the open air, according to the nature of the work, being prohibited from speaking to each other, under pain of punishment. From the latter feature this is often called the *Silent* system. As its main peculiarity, in contradistinction to the *Separate* system, is the working of the prisoners in assemblies, where all may see and be seen, it may be more proper to designate it as the *Congregate* system.

Such, in brief, are these two systems, which, it will be observed on careful attention, both aim at the same object, the separation of the prisoners from all intercourse with each other. In the one, this end is attained by the physical separation of all during night and day; in the other, by such a separation at night, and an untiring watch by day to prevent intercourse. Of course, the separation by the *Congregate* system is less complete than by the other. Conversation by words may be restrained; though it is now admitted, that no guardian is sufficiently wakeful to intercept on all occasions those winged messengers. But the extensive unwritten language of signs, the expression of the human countenance, the movements of the body, may telegraph from convict to convict thoughts of stubbornness, hatred or revenge.

If separation be desirable, should it not be complete? Should not the conducting links between the prisoners be broken, so that no electrical spark may propagate its disturbing force? But the very pains which are taken in the *Congregate* system to guard silence by day and separation by night, seem to answer this question. Thus, by a strange inconsistency, the advocates of the *Congregate* system seek to enforce *separation*. Though wedded to an imperfect practice, they yet recognise the correct principle.

But before proceeding further with this comparison of the two systems, let us call attention to what are the real objects of prison discipline, that we may be better enabled to determine which is best calculated to answer these objects.

There are three purposes which are proposed by every

enlightened system. First, by the mode of restraint of convicts, to deter others from crime. Second, by their restraint, to prevent them from again preying upon society. Third, by discipline and care, so far as is possible, to reform the offender. There are strong grounds to believe that the first two purposes are best attained by the Separate system; but without considering these particularly, let us pass to the vital question, which is best calculated to perform that truly heavenly function of reforming the criminal.

Is not the answer prompt and decisive, in favor of that system which most completely protects the convict from the pernicious influence of his brethren in guilt? It is a venerable proverb, that a man is known by the company he keeps; and this is a homely expression of the truth, that the character of a man is naturally in harmony with those about him. If the society by which he is surrounded is virtuous, his own virtues will be confirmed and expanded. On the other hand, if it be wicked, then will the demon of his nature be aroused in this unholy fellowship. The bad qualities are quickened and strengthened, as well as the good, under the influence of society. Every association of convicts must, therefore, in a greater or less degree pervert, but never reform those of which it is composed. The obdurate offender, with a mind perpetually brooding on evil, will impart something of his own hardness of heart, even though he utter no audible word, to the congregation to which he belongs.

“Dedit hanc contagio labem,
Et dabit in plures; sicut grex totus in agris
Unius scabie cadit, et porrigine porci;
Uvaeque conspecta livorem ducit ab uva.”

From the inherent nature of things this contagion must be propagated by the Congregate system; while the Separate system does all that man can do to restrain it. By the latter, as it has been successfully administered in various prisons, the convict is, in the first place, withdrawn, so far as is possible by human means, from all bad influences; while he is, in the second place, brought under the operation of good influences. Under such circumstances the mind is naturally diverted from the thick-coming schemes of crime, and turned to thoughts of virtue. What in it is

bad, if not entirely subdued, is weakened by inactivity, while the good is invited to constant exercise.

It cannot be questioned, then, on grounds of reasoning, independent of experience, that the Separate system is better calculated to promote that great object of Prison Discipline — the reformation of the offender. With this recommendation alone it would be entitled to the regard of all, who feel that the return of a single sinner is blessed in the sight of God.

But a further object is secured by this system. The convicts never being allowed to see one another, leave the Penitentiary, at the expiration of their term of punishment, literally unknowing and unknown, so far as their companions in guilt are concerned. And the delightful incident is mentioned, in illustration of this fact, that the keeper of the Philadelphia Penitentiary once recognized three persons, engaged in honest labor in the same place, who had been in his custody as convicts, though neither of them knew the career of the others. The discharged prisoners are thus enabled to slide back into the general mass of the community, without the chilling fear of untimely recognition by those with whom they had congregated in the Penitentiary. They cannot, indeed, escape the memory of the punishment they have endured; but the brand is not upon their forehead. They may be encouraged to honest exertion, in the hope of retrieving in a distant spot, and under a new name, the fair character which they have lost; while, on the other hand, if evil-minded, they will have no associations of the prison to renew, or to stimulate into conspiracies against society.

A system of Prison Discipline with these benign features must long ago have commended itself to universal acceptance, if it had not been opposed with peculiar ardor on grounds, which, though in reality untenable, are calculated to exercise a strong influence over the ignorance and prejudices of men.

The first objection was, that it is productive of insanity, on account of an unnatural deprivation of society. However just this may be when directed against the Solitary system, it is totally inapplicable to what is called the Separate system, which does not exclude the idea of society, and, as practically administered at Philadelphia and else-

where, supplies labor and society in ample measure to all the convicts. If the prisoner is not indulged with society enough, it is a fault in the administration of the system, and not in the system. Elaborate tables have been presented, in the publications of the Boston Prison Discipline Society, seeking to shew a tendency to insanity in the Penitentiary at Philadelphia; but a careful and candid inquiry will demonstrate that these have been founded in misapprehension, and will exonerate that admirable institution from this suspicion. The highest authorities in medicine have distinctly declared that the Separate system, if properly administered, with labor and conversation with the keepers of the Penitentiary, does not affect the reason of the prisoners. The names of Esquirol and Louis give to this opinion the strongest sanction of science throughout the civilized world. The same conclusion has been affirmed with precision and fervor by Lélut in an elaborate memoir, which is now before us, to the Institute of France; and also by the scientific Congress assembled at Padua in 1843, and at Lucca in 1844.

The second objection charged the Separate system with being unfriendly to the health of the prisoners; as compared with the Congregate system. In reply to this we will merely say, that the great names in medicine, to which we have already referred, expressly deny that this system has any influence in shortening life; while a comparison of the statistics of several Penitentiaries which are conducted on the Congregate system, with those of the Philadelphia Penitentiary, shows the superiority of the latter in this respect.

The third and last objection was founded on the increased expense of the Separate system. The other was recommended by the suggestions of economy and the clamors of cupidity. It was said that it is put into operation at less cost, and afterwards not only supports itself, but brings a profit (listen to the chink of gold and silver!) to the State. We are sorry to believe that this consideration has had an extensive influence on the reception of the the better system throughout our country. It is humiliating, to suppose that any government would hesitate to adopt a system founded on an enlightened humanity, because another might be had for less money; counting the unworthy gain, or the petty economy, as of higher conse-

quence than the reformation of an offender. Such a course is unworthy of the civilization of this age. The State has sacred duties towards the unfortunate men whom it takes into its custody. It must not only see that they receive no harm, but that they enjoy all the means of improvement consistent with their condition ; that, while their bodies are clothed and fed, their souls and minds be not left naked and hungry. It assumes the place of a parent, and owes a parent's care and kindness ; or rather, when we consider that the State itself is the child of the people, may we not say, that it should emulate the filial piety, which descended into the darkness of a Roman dungeon, to afford its exuberant, health-giving bosom to the exhausted being from which it drew its life.

But it is not only on these general grounds that we recommend the Separate system. Notwithstanding the uncompromising hostility which it has encountered, it has won constant favor. Many prisons have been built on this plan, and experience now comes to confirm the suggestions of humanity and science. The Penitentiary at Philadelphia, which gives its name to the system, was followed in 1833 by one at Pittsburgh, and by a County Prison at Alleghany, in Pennsylvania ; and in 1841, by another County Prison, on the same system, at Harrisburg. In 1834 New Jersey followed the example of her neighbor State, and established a Penitentiary on this system at Trenton.

Various Commissions from foreign governments, after visiting the different prisons of the United States, have all reported *emphatically* in favor of the Separate system ; as that of Beaumont and De Tocqueville, to the French Government, in 1831 ; of Mr. Crawford, to the English, in 1834 ; of Dr. Julius, to the Prussian Government, in 1835, after a most careful perambulation of all the prisons of the country ; of Demetz and Blouet, to the French Government, in 1835, — being the second Commission from the same Government ; and of Neilson and Mondolet, to the Canadian Government, in 1836.

In accordance with these recommendations numerous prisons have been built or are building in Europe. In England, a model prison has been constructed at Pentonville, which is, perhaps, the best prison in the world. In

the late Report of the Surveyor General of Prisons, which was laid on the table of Parliament during its last session, it was expressly declared from the experience gained in the Pentonville Prison, "that the separation of one prisoner from another is indispensable as the basis of any sound system." As long ago as 1843, no less than seventeen prisons were built or building in different counties of England, and several in Scotland, on this principle. In France the whole subject has gone through a most thorough discussion by the press, and also in debate by the Chamber of Deputies. Among the works now before us is a volume of more than six hundred pages, which is filled by a report (with notes) of this debate, which ended in the passage of a law during the last summer, appropriating ninety millions of francs for the building of thirty prisons on the Separate system. Such is the testimony of France and England.

Similar testimony comes from other quarters; — from Prussia, where five prisons on this system have been built; from Denmark, where ten are now building; from Sweden, where eight are now building, under the auspices of the monarch, who, when Prince Oscar, wrote ably in advocacy of the Separate system; from Norway, where one is now building in the neighborhood of Christiana; from Poland, where one has long been in existence, and three others are about to be completed; from Hungary, where a project has been submitted to the Diet for the erection of ten on the Separate system; from Holland, where one is about to be erected on the plan of that of Pentonville; from Belgium, which has yielded to the Separate system, and has ingrafted it even upon the famous *Maison de Force* at Ghent, which afforded the model to our Auburn Prison; from the Duchy of Nassau; from the Grand Duchy of Baden; from Frankfort-on-the-Maine; from Hamburgh; from Geneva in Switzerland; in all of which there are prisons on this system either built or building. From poor, distracted Spain also proceeds the same testimony.

To this array of authorities and examples may be added two names of commanding weight in all matters of Prison Discipline, Edward Livingston and Miss Dix. The first, whose high fortune it was to refine jurisprudence by his philanthropy, as he had illumined it by his genius and

strengthened it by his learning, in his Introductory Report to the Code of Prison Discipline, as long ago as 1827, urged with classical eloquence a system of "seclusion, accompanied by moral, religious, and scientific instruction and useful manual labor." Miss Dix, after an attentive survey of different systems throughout our country, enforces with fervor, as well in the publication now before us as in her Memorials, the merits of the Separate system, and of its administration in Pennsylvania.

It might be said that the voices of all the civilized nations, by a rare harmony, concurred in sanctioning the Separate system, if the Boston Prison Discipline Society had not raised a most persevering note of discord, which has gone on with a most unmusical *crescendo*. As the solitary champion of an imperfect system which the world is renouncing, it has contended with an earnestness, which has often become prejudice, and with an insensibility to the real facts that were accumulating, which was injustice. It is with frankness, as it is with sorrow, that we allude to the sinister influence which it has exercised of late years over this question, particularly throughout the Northern States. But the truth which has been proclaimed abroad need not be delicately minced at home. We do not join with the recent English writer, who, among many harsher suggestions, speaks of the "misrepresentation," "the trickery," "the imposture"* of the Society or its agent; nor with Moreau-Christophe, who says, "La Société des prisons à Boston a juré haine à mort au système de Philadelphie;"† for we know well the honesty and sincere interest in the welfare of convicts which animate its Secretary, and we feel persuaded that he will gladly abandon the deadly war which he has waged against the Separate system, when he shall see it in the light in which it is now regarded by the science and humanity of the civilized world. But we feel that his exertions, which in some departments of Prison Discipline have been productive of incalculable good, for which his memory will be blessed, yet on this important question have done much harm. In his Reports he has never failed to present all the evil that had been said of the Separate system, particularly as administered in

* Adshead. p. 129.

† Revue Pénitentiaire. Tom. II. p. 589.

Philadelphia, sometimes even drawing upon his imagination for his facts, while he has carefully withheld the testimony in its favor. This truly beneficent system, and its meritorious supporters, have been held up to obloquy, and the wide circle who confided implicitly in his Reports, consigned to a state of darkness with regard to its true character and its general reception abroad.

One of the most strenuous advocates of the Separate system at the present moment, whose work of elaborate argument and details is now before us, is Suringar, who has been called the Howard of Holland, and who had signalized himself by a previous opposition to it. He says, "I am now completely emancipated from my former error. This error I do not blush to confess openly. The same change has been wrought in the opinions of Julius in Prussia, of Crawford in England, of Béranger and Demetz in France, and of all men of good faith, who are moved, in their researches, only by the suggestions of conscience, unswayed by prejudice or pride of opinion." Perhaps in these changes of opinion the Secretary of the Boston Prison Discipline Society may find an example, which he will not be unwilling to follow; and it may be reserved to us to welcome him as a cordial fellow-laborer in the conscientious support of what he has for a long period most conscientiously attacked.

From this rapid survey, it will be seen that our convictions and sympathies earnestly sustain the Separate system. To us, there is no axiom in Prison Discipline more stringent, than the duty of removing prisoners from the corrupting influences of association, even though in silence. But we are not insensible to the encouragement and succor, which prisoners might derive, in the march of improvement, from companionship with those who are struggling like themselves. It was a wise remark of the English Professor, "that students are the best professors to each other;" and the experience of Mrs. Farnum, the matron of the Female Convicts at Sing-Sing, whom we cannot name without a tribute of admiration, shows that this same principle is not without its effect even among classes of convicts. Perhaps the Separate system might be modified, so as to admit of instruction and labor together, in a small class, who may be selected after a probationary period of separation, as

worthy of this indulgence and confidence. Such a modification was contemplated and recommended by Mr. Livingston, and it would seem to find favor with Von Raumer in his recent work on America. This privilege can only be imparted to those who have shown themselves so exemplary in character and conduct, that their society will cease to be contaminating. But it remains to be seen, whether there is any subtle alchemy, by which their purity may be determined, so as to justify a departure from the general rule of separation.

Finally, we would commend this subject to the attention of all. In the language of Sir Michael Foster, a judge of eminence, "No rank or condition of life, no uprightness of heart, no prudence or circumspection of conduct, should teach any man to conclude that he may not one day be deeply interested in these researches." Thus there are considerations of self-interest, which may move those who do not incline to labor for others, except for some ultimate advantage to themselves. But all who confess a true benevolence, and a just appreciation of the duties of the State, will join in efforts for the benefit of the poor prisoner, deriving from his abject condition new motives to action, that it may be true of the State, as of law, that "the very least feels its care, as the greatest is not exempt from its power." In the progress of an enlightened Prison Discipline, it may be hoped, that our Penitentiaries will become in reality, if not in name, Houses of Reformation, and that the convicts will be treated with a scrupulous and extreme regard, alike to their physical, moral and intellectual well-being, to the end, that when they are allowed again to mingle with society, they may feel the precious sympathy with virtue and the detestation of vice, and that, though sadder, they may be better men.

In the promotion of this cause, the city of Boston at this moment occupies a position of signal advantage. It has determined to erect a new County Jail, the plans of which are still under consideration. It is easy to perceive that the plan which it shall adopt, and the system of discipline which it shall recognise, will become an example throughout the country. We trust that no narrow prejudice, and no unworthy economy will prevent the example from being such as becomes a city, of the wealth, refinement

and humanity of Boston. It is a common boast, that her schools and various institutions of beneficence are the best in the world. Let the prison about to be erected share this boast. *Let it be the best in the world.* Let it be a model prison, not only to our own country, but to other countries. The rule of separation, which we have considered of such importance among the ripe convicts in the Penitentiary, will be of greater necessity still in a prison which will receive, before their trial, both the innocent and the guilty. Each prisoner, from the first moment he is touched by the hand of the law, should be cut off from all association, whether by word or sight, with his fellow-prisoners. The State, mindful of his weakness, as his temporary guardian, owes him this protection against temptation, and this means of reformation.

The *absolute separation* of all prisoners, so that they can neither see, hear nor touch each other, is the pole-star of Prison Discipline. It is the Alpha, or beginning, as the reformation of the offender is the Omega, or the end. It is this principle, when properly administered, which irradiates with heavenly light even the darkness of the dungeon, driving far away the intrusive legion of unclean thoughts, and introducing in their vacant place the purity of religion, the teachings of virtue, the solace of society, and the comfort of hope. In this spirit let us build our prisons. The jail shall no longer be a charnel-house of living men; the cell shall cease to be the tomb, wherein is buried, what is more precious than the body, a human soul. From their iron gates let us erase that doom of despair,

Leave all hope behind, who enter here ;
and inscribe other words of gentleness, of encouragement,
of hope. c. s.

NOTE TO ARTICLE IV.

SINCE this article was printed, and just as our number was closing, another book has been announced as in the press, which would have come within the range of our remarks. It is called the "Service Book for the Church of

the Saviour ; with a Collection of Psalms and Hymns." A particular notice of it would further illustrate some of the points, on which we have been led to speak. But for this we have no room. Its ritual part contains greater variety than we have seen in any preceding work of the kind. There are fifteen short Services for morning or evening worship ; and to the Selections from the Psalms are added Selections from other portions of the Scriptures. These last are gathered as they could be found suitable, without reference to their original connexions, and arranged so as to be read responsively. An increasing tendency thus seems to be shown in our denomination towards written forms of conducting the devotions of the church. The Hymns are but another edition of Dr. Greenwood's, with a supplement of 116 new pieces. We are not sure that the greater part of these additional hymns would have been our own choice ; but that is a matter, on which we do not feel ourselves called to enlarge. The compiler is Rev. R. C. Waterston, pastor of the "Church of the Saviour," whose name will go far to recommend his preferences. We heartily wish, that the church which is now building for the use of his society, and into which this Collection is to be introduced, may be carried up strong and beautiful to its top-stone, and entered prosperously, and consecrated to a long blessing, in due time.

May we be allowed, in closing, to say a single word of a lighter character ? We have spoken of this church as now "building." We do not say, that it is "in course of construction," or "in progress of erection," or "in process of completion," or "being built." This is because we are content with our paternal English tongue. If any should ask us *what* it is building, we shall, like Queen Elizabeth on another occasion, "leave them answerless." N. L. F.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Introductory Lectures on Modern History, delivered in the Lent Term, 1842; with the Inaugural Lecture, delivered in December, 1841. By THOMAS ARNOLD, D. D., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, and Head Master of Rugby School. Edited from the Second London Edition, with a Preface and Notes, by HENRY REED, A. M., Professor of English Literature in the University of Pennsylvania. New York. 1845. 12mo. pp. 428.

DR. ARNOLD'S reputation as a classical scholar was established in an eminent degree by his edition of Thucydides, accompanied by critical notes and disquisitions in the English language; and this reputation has been confirmed and enlarged by that portion of his "History of Rome," which he lived to complete. These writings, together with those which have appeared since his death, exhibit proofs not only of remarkable scholarship in ancient learning, but of a mind richly stored with various knowledge, and endowed with a combination of rare and high qualities.

The volume before us consists of eight Lectures introductory to an extended course which he proposed to deliver on Modern History. The author defines history to be "the biography of a society." He adds, "it does not appear to me to be history at all, but simply biography, unless it finds in the persons who are its subject something of a common purpose, the accomplishment of which is the object of their life. History is to the common life of many, what biography is to the life of an individual." Upon this idea he builds the scheme of his lectures, and unfolds the relations and traces the progress of society by examples, drawn from the conduct of men as marked by the principles of human nature, and exhibited under the various forms of political and social bodies. This is done in a manner perfectly simple and direct, without any parade of novel theories, or any of those vagaries of abstraction and speculation, which, by a false use of language, have been called the philosophy of history. With a lively imagination, and quick powers of thought, Dr. Arnold's mind was eminently practical; his style is flowing, animated, and energetic, sometimes ornate, always perspicuous; his illustrations are numerous and well applied. His remarks on the methods of studying history, the knowledge requisite for that study, and the objects to be attained by it, are peculiarly interesting and valuable. By way of explaining his views, he touches at considerable length on some of the prominent events of modern European history;

showing throughout an independent spirit, untrammelled by prejudices or local predilections, a heart open to generous impulses, and a mind elevated and enlightened by an expansive toleration. These qualities are conspicuous in the lectures on the questions relating to the Church in England, and on the condition of that country after the Revolution. The intricate question of the credibility of history is ably examined in a lecture on that subject.

Professor Reed's notes constitute a valuable addition to the original work. Many of them are selected from Dr. Arnold's other writings, in which he explains more at large some of the opinions advanced in the Lectures. Occasionally likewise the editor enters with learning and ability into original discussions, with the view of illustrating the author's positions. s.

Grammar of the Chaldee Language, as contained in the Bible and Targums. By DR. GEORGE B. WINER, Professor of Theology, etc. in the University of Leipsic. Translated from the German, by H. B. HACKETT, Professor of Biblical Literature in Newton Theological Institution. Andover. 1845. 8vo. pp. 152.

A PERSON tolerably well acquainted with Hebrew is prepared for an easy acquisition of the related dialects. The Chaldee alphabet is the same as the Hebrew; the vocabulary is so to a considerable extent, and the grammatical forms have the same general character; so that the student, with no great pains, may proceed from his reading of the rest of the Old Testament to those chapters in Daniel and Ezra which are written in Chaldee, and thence, if his curiosity takes such a direction, to a perusal of the Chaldee *Targums* or versions of the Hebrew books. Syriac is so like Chaldee, that some Grammars present the forms of the two side by side. It is almost the same language in a different alphabetical character; and a second step, still easier than the first, enables the student to read a version of the New Testament which takes rank of all others in respect to merit as well as time, and which has the peculiar attraction of presenting the discourses of our Lord and his Apostles in substantially the same dialect as that in which they were originally uttered. Thus furnished, the student's further progress is exceedingly easy to the Samaritan, which opens the knowledge of another ancient version, and to the Talmudical and Rabbinical dialects, of which the whole basis is Chaldee. If he proposes to form some acquaintance with the Arabic translations, a more serious task is presented, but still one which his previous labors will have materially lightened.

Professor Hackett translates from Winer's Grammar published in 1842, a work greatly extended from his first edition of nearly twenty years before. We cannot say we like it the better for that. In its primitive state, it was, in our judgment, a very dull and repulsive specimen of German book-making. There is no mystery about these languages. In every particular, except the *lexicographical* difficulty attaching to words which occur but seldom, they are very easily mastered. It is the exceeding heaviness and cumbrousness of the grammatical apparatus furnished to learners, which makes them so awful. Professor Stuart, who studies a subject while he writes upon it for the public, kept on condensing his Hebrew Grammar edition after edition, and each compression was a material improvement, and a great deal more compression would still enhance its value. With good tables of the Chaldee forms, and fifteen or twenty pages at most, of explanation of the principal differences between them and the Hebrew, a student of fair intelligence, and with a good knowledge of the latter tongue, would, we think, read well the Biblical Chaldee, in about half the time that would be required for a careful perusal of Dr. Winer's Grammar. And he would have had very agreeable and useful, instead of very odious and unprofitable employment. Of the making of books there is absolutely no end, if writers set out to inflict all their manuscript collections and all their tediousness upon the reader. But grown men are not best served by any books, certainly not by Grammars, upon that model.

Still, for a person who has no taste but for Chaldee, nor any other occupation for his life, the study of Winer's Grammar, in so faithful a manner as to become possessed of all the exceptions, and verify them by an examination of all the references, and glance at all the books therein cited, and strike the balance between the opposite opinions of erudite critics on the various weighty matters therein mooted, will furnish interesting employment, which will hold out to his fullest wish and his latest day. At all events the zeal for Oriental literature, which has carried Professor Hackett through the work of such a translation, is highly creditable; and this patient, scholarly enthusiasm, together with the knowledge which he has acquired in the process, and which he exhibits in its result, is an agreeable earnest that he will engage the attention of his pupils, and ensure their proficiency, in this important class of studies. It is not for us to advise; but we heartily wish, that, accomplished as he has now made and shown himself in this department of knowledge, and able to select from the heap what a learner wishes to know, he would turn his attention to the composition of a Manual of his own, within a much smaller compass. *

The Broken Vow, and other Poems. By AMANDA M. EDMOND.
Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln. 1845. 12mo. pp.
324.

A Chaunt of Life, and other Poems, with Sketches and Essays.
By Rev. RALPH HOYT. *In six parts.* Parts I. and II.
New York. 1845. 8vo. pp. 32, each.

MRS. EDMOND has put forth a volume in which "Rodolpho, or the Broken Vow" is the longest, and we are tempted to say the poorest, production. Many of the other pieces have a devotional character, and are apparently inspired by a sincere spirit of piety, always pure, though at times somewhat despondent and gloomy. This world, with all its brightness and beauty, needs not to be constantly brought into a disparaging comparison with another and a better, for which, rightly used and enjoyed, it is a fitting prelude. We wish for our authoress a temperament more uniformly happy, that she may henceforth look out upon a brighter sky, not seeking too anxiously for clouds in the distant horizon. To her own modest concession, that in her work "critical severity may find much to condemn," let us not add one ungracious word: it is high and just praise for her, that virtue, purity and piety will find in it no cause for reproach.

The "Chaunt of Life" is an unfinished work, promising six cantos, but as yet producing only two. These two, however, afford favorable augury for those which are to come: it is to be hoped that embarrassments, alluded to in the advertisement of the publishers, may not prevent the completion of the poem. The phases of life which have been presented in the cantos before us are of a sombre hue, saddened with the recollections of departed friends and hopes that lie buried in their graves. There is a touching melancholy about these stanzas, not altogether healthful, yet perhaps none the less affecting because somewhat exaggerated. The reader will find the "Chaunt" sad and sweet, yet vigorous and manly. Should the cantos yet unpublished display to us life's brighter phases, we shall readily forgive the deepened shadowings of those now before us; at any rate, we pay to Mr. Hoyt the compliment of interested expectation. The shorter poems of these volumes are generally above mediocrity, two or three of them are excellent. The "Snow" is a peculiarly good piece of word-painting, as simple and beautiful as the subject which it depicts; the "World for Sale" is sprightly and sarcastic, but not bitter; "Old" is plaintive and melodious; "New" suggestive and truthful: all these pieces are worthy to be called *poems*, and deserve a grateful welcome. The "Sketches and Essays" exist as yet only in the promise of the title-pages.

D.

Biographical and Critical Miscellanies. By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT, Author of "The History of Ferdinand and Isabella," "The Conquest of Mexico," etc. New York. 1845. 8vo. pp. 634.

Critical and Miscellaneous Essays. To which are added a few Poems. By ALEXANDER H. EVERETT. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 563.

Both these volumes have the same purpose, and both will be recommended by the literary reputation of their authors. They are meant to preserve in a permanent form the contributions which each has made to the periodical literature of his country. A part of the interest which attaches to such papers on their first appearance must necessarily cease with the lapse of time; yet there is a peculiar pleasure in recurring, after a writer has established a wide and sure reputation, to his earlier or more ephemeral productions. The contents of Mr. Prescott's volume were, with a single exception, originally furnished to the *North American Review*. Having been prepared with more than the usual care bestowed, at least in this country, on such writing, they particularly deserve to be presented in a form in which they will meet many eyes that might never have seen them in their primitive condition. The typographical character of the volume is worthy of notice.

Mr. Everett's volume contains, we believe, only the smaller portion of the articles with which he has enriched our critical literature. The public, we suppose, are less familiar with his name as a poet than as a writer of prose. We are glad, however, to meet the productions of his muse in companionship with his miscellaneous essays. The volume will be welcomed by the public as embodying some of the choicest pages of our literary journals, and we hope that the writer may be induced soon to give us one or more additional volumes.

Physical Education and the Preservation of Health. By JOHN C. WARREN, M. D., Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in Harvard University. Boston: W. D. Ticknor & Co. 1846. 18mo. pp. 90.

THIS republication of a Lecture delivered by Dr. Warren before the American Institute in 1830, with an addition of nearly as much new matter, should be gratefully received by those for whom it is particularly designed,—persons of sedentary habits, of either sex. The name of the author will be sufficient to inspire confidence in his opinions, and in this little treatise he has given the result of much observation as well as scientific knowledge, in a course of plain, practical, and highly valuable remarks.

A Universal Pronouncing Gazetteer: containing topographical, statistical, and other information, of all the more important places in the known world, from the most recent and authentic sources. With a Map. By THOMAS BALDWIN, assisted by several other gentlemen. Philadelphia. 1845. 8vo. pp. 550.

THIS is a good book in two ways. It was much wanted, and it is exceedingly well done. One need not be much of a student, in order to have frequent occasion for such a work; and the best read scholars, whether in Geography or Philology, will not be those least likely to avail themselves of its references. The principles on which it is constructed recommend themselves to us as sound and judicious. Great pains have evidently been taken, in collecting and verifying its multifarious contents. The plan of it is in some respects quite new, requiring to be carried out with a wide search and at the same time with the minutest accuracy. Both the diligence and the care, we think, have been bestowed. The most exact information has been sought from the best authorities, native and foreign, whether books or living men. The result has been a mass of instruction, various but unconfused; for some portions of which we should have to inquire in several directions, and for others might be at a loss where to apply. Its preparation must have cost some years of diversified and delicate labor. Doubtless, some inadvertencies may be discovered in so miscellaneous a work; and since it is no larger, some omissions will be regretted. But on the whole, if we do not much mistake, it will prove an important help to the teachers of public and private schools; and all who are curious in this kind of learning, or ambitious of pronouncing strange names correctly, will give it a place upon some shelf that is not far from their sight and hand. F.

Easy Lessons on Reasoning. First American, from the second London Edition. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1845. 12mo. pp. 180.

JUDGING from our acquaintance with men in the common intercourse of life, and from the character of the multitude of speeches which in these days are perpetually inflicted upon the public on all sorts of subjects, we should say, that the department of education most neglected, though most important, is that which teaches the mind to reason justly and forcibly; and here is a book, which we can with a clear conscience recommend as one, the judicious use of which in our schools will help to supply the defect. It is ascribed, and on good grounds we should say, to Dr. Whately, author of the two well known treatises, "Elements of Logic," and "Elements of Rhetoric."

It may be said, in fact, to be the former treatise simplified in such a way as to render it adapted to a "course of elementary studies for young persons generally." This process of *simplifying* knowledge often leads to very superficial attainments. We do not think, that this objection lies against the present book, which certainly cannot be studied without quickening the powers of intellect and aiding in the acquisition of habits of discriminating thought, and precision in the use of language. L.

The Book of Peace: A Collection of Essays on War and Peace. Boston: George C. Beckwith. 1845. Small 8vo. pp. 490.

THIS volume is a collection of Peace tracts, very neatly printed, though on a type much smaller than we like to read. The object has been, to bring as much as possible of the soundest and best matter on this subject within the compass of a single, and not bulky volume. "The work," says the editor, "is truly *multum in parvo*, a thesaurus of information on Peace, containing a far greater amount of facts, statistics, and arguments on its various topics, than our own or any other language can furnish in thrice the compass." The compilation is made "from some of the best writers in the last three centuries, from men of every faith, Protestant and Catholic, Orthodox and Unitarian, Episcopal, Baptist, and Presbyterian." We commend the book to the attention of all who feel an interest or a curiosity respecting the great subject of which it treats. It is especially a suitable book to put into parish or town libraries. G.

Poetry for Home and School. Part Second. Selected by the AUTHOR of "Theory of Teaching," and "First Lessons in Grammar." Boston: S. G. Simpkins. 1846. 18mo. pp. 168.

THOSE who are familiar with the former "Part" of this work will not need to be urged to procure whatever farther collection of poetry may be made by one who has shown so much taste and judgment in her selections. Our only doubt concerning this little volume would be, whether it is suited for use in a "school." Many of the pieces require a considerable culture of the imaginative faculty, to enable them to be relished, or even properly understood. The longest in the book — Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner" — it is our misfortune to like the least, having always had a disposition to substitute such unmannerly words as tedious and silly (we crave mercy for our dulness as well as rudeness) in place of the epithets used by its admirers. Most of the pieces, however, are better suited both in length and character, for school exercises. G.

The Library of American Biography. Conducted by JARED SPARKS. Second Series. Vol. VII. Boston. Little & Brown. 16mo. pp. 448.

THE object of this series, to which we have occasionally referred, is to record the lives and deeds of individuals who have been born, or have won their fame and distinguished themselves, on the Western Continent. Of course history, as well as biography, forms the contents of the volumes. By far the larger proportion of the individuals thus commemorated have here for the first time received the full and careful notice of the biographer. The present volume contains the lives of some individuals who well deserve the honors here accorded to them. Mr. Sparks, the faithful and laborious Editor of the series, furnishes the Life of John Ribault, the enterprising and devoted pioneer of the French settlements in North America, who was worthy of a better reward than he was permitted to enjoy. Rev. Dr. Francis contributes a Life of Father Rale, the famous Jesuit missionary to the Abnakis Indians, of whose zeal we speak in superlative terms when we say that it equalled the jealousy which our fathers entertained of it. Dr. Palfrey furnishes the Life of his grandfather, William Palfrey, eminent in the days preceding and attending the American Revolution, of the army of which he was Paymaster General — an excellent, an honorable and a useful man. G.

The Common School Algebra. By THOMAS SHERWIN, A. M., Principal of the English High School, Boston; Author of 'Elementary Treatise on Algebra.' Boston: Phillips and Sampson. 12mo. pp. 238.

A TREATISE on Algebra for the use of Common Schools, from the source from which this emanates, can hardly fail of meeting a favorable reception from the public. Besides an intimate acquaintance with the subject, Mr. Sherwin has the advantage of long experience in teaching, and knows precisely the difficulties encountered by the pupil, which he has taken some pains to lessen or obviate by a "series of introductory exercises." Through the whole he has aimed at simplifying the science as far as consistent with the main object, which is "not to save the learner the trouble of thinking and reasoning, but to teach him to think and reason," and "ensure a good knowledge of the subject." We think that he has succeeded. His method is clear, his language precise and simple, the connexion and dependence of the parts natural and obvious, and for the purpose for which it was intended he has made an excellent book. L.

The Unitarian Annual Register for the Year 1846. Boston : Crosby & Nichols. 12mo. pp. 60.

The Housekeeper's Annual and Ladies' Register : for 1846. Boston : Crosby & Nichols. 12mo. pp. 84.

THESE two works, though different in purpose and character, have a sufficiently obvious resemblance to account for our including them in the same notice. The Unitarian Register, for which we are indebted, as it appears from the initials affixed to the "advertisement," to Rev. Mr. Livermore of Keene, is projected on a very good plan, but, we think, bears marks of haste in the execution. Another year will give opportunity for a careful revision and a still more valuable selection of contents. The present number will be found both convenient and instructive, offering much information which before was within the reach of but few persons.

The Housekeeper's Register has been for many years an acquaintance and a favorite. This year it comes with its usual variety of pleasant and useful matter. The description of the months is particularly agreeable.

The Singer's Text Book ; consisting of simple Rules and easy Music for Common Schools. By J. & H. BIRD. Second edition. Cambridge. 1845. 24mo. pp. 38.

WE had intended that our notice of this little book should contain some remarks of a friend, who pronounces its *method* excellent, — the design being to lead the young mind slowly and progressively to a practical knowledge of music, — but much of the poetry poorly selected, dull or insipid. He complains that most of the children taught in our schools learn to sing by rote and not by note, an evil which the use of this book would prevent. But we have only room for these few words.

The Bible and the Child. A Discourse. By JAMES MARTINEAU. Boston : B. H. Greene. 1845. 8vo. pp. 23.

Purity and Charity. A Discourse on behalf of the Children's Friend's Society, delivered in the First Baptist Church, Providence, October 7, 1845. By EDWARD B. HALL, Pastor of the First Congregational Church. Providence. 1845. 8vo. pp. 16.

The Duty of Moral Reflection with particular reference to the Texas Question. A Sermon, preached to the Third Congregational Society of Hingham, on Sunday, November 16, 1845. By Rev. OLIVER STEARNS, Pastor. Hingham. 1845. 18mo. pp. 20.

Home. A Thanksgiving Sermon, preached at King's Chapel.
By GEORGE G. INGERSOLL. Boston: Crosby & Nichols.
1845. 8vo. pp. 24.

A Thanksgiving Discourse. By WILLIAM H. FURNESS. NOV.
27th, 1845. 8vo. pp. 20.

Peace—Not War. A Sermon preached in the Federal Street Meetinghouse, on Sunday, December 14, 1845. By EZRA S. GANNETT. Boston: J. Dowe. 1845. 8vo. pp. 24.

Remarks upon an Oration delivered by Charles Sumner before the Authorities of the City of Boston, July 4th, 1845. By a CITIZEN OF BOSTON. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1845. 8vo. pp. 31.

An Address delivered in Ipswich, Mass., before the Essex Agricultural Society, at its twenty-fifth Annual Exhibition, Sept. 24, 1845. By EDWIN M. STONE. Salem. 1845. 8vo. pp. 44.

An Address delivered before the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, on its First Semi-centennial Anniversary and Thirteenth Triennial Festival, October 2, 1845. By FREDERIC W. LINCOLN, Jr. Boston. 1845. 8vo. pp. 64.

An Address delivered before the Boston Mercantile Library Association, on the occasion of their Twenty-fifth Anniversary, October 15, 1845. By ROBERT C. WINTHROP. Boston. 1845. 8vo. pp. 38.

A Poem. (before the same). By R. C. WATERSTON. 8vo. pp. 20.

Anniversary Address delivered before the American Institute of the City of New York, at the Broadway Tabernacle, October 17, 1845, during the Eighteenth Annual Fair. By the Hon. T. D. ELIOT, of New Bedford, Mass. New York. 1845. 8vo. pp. 19.

As a literary performance, Mr. Martineau's Discourse pleases us more than some of his other writings. It contains much important truth, beneath splendid but not turgid diction. In his general views of the unsuitableness of the Old Testament to the purposes of religious instruction for our young people we should agree, but from some of his remarks on particular portions of the ancient Scriptures we must express our entire dissent. — Mr. Hall, after presenting in a strong light, and setting free from objections, the paramount duties of purity and charity, — a purity which in its largest sense is piety, and a charity "built on Christian principle and Christian prudence," — presses the claims of the institution for which he was preaching, judiciously and forcibly. — Mr. Stearns devotes most of his Sermon to an

exposition of the duty of "moral reflection," or of "thoughtfulness" concerning the relations in which we stand to other beings; from which at the close he deduces a course of earnest remarks on the part which the people should take, in opposing the admission into the Union of a territory doomed to increase "the enormous wrong" of Slavery. — Of Dr. Ingersoll's beautiful sermon on Home if we should say just what we think, those who have not seen it might impute to us the extravagance of panegyric. We will therefore only advise such to read it, and learn both how grateful they should be for home, and how they may make it the scene of their purest pleasures. — Mr. Furness's Thanksgiving sermon is written in his usual style of careful elegance, and presents a very impressive delineation of the blessings which we enjoy in our possession of "personal freedom;" while it closes with an allusion, which every one must feel to be in place, to the existence of slavery on our soil. — Mr. Gannett takes occasion from the present state of our relations with Great Britain, to insist on the unchristian character of war, and considers the grounds of insensibility to its true character among Christians.

Whatever judgment may be pronounced on some of the critical decisions of the writer of the Remarks on Mr. Sumner's Oration, the pamphlet contains a great deal of strong argument, and the ability with which it is written, and its easy, transparent style of pure, idiomatic English, none will deny. — Mr. Stone's Address before the Essex Agricultural Society, the first in the Commonwealth "to publish in detail its transactions," embodies many facts, suggestions and remarks, which will be found interesting and useful as well to the general reader as to the practical farmer, and its moral tone is of the healthiest kind. — Mr. Lincoln's semi-centennial Address, though it presents fewer historical notices than might seem desirable on such an occasion, yet shows a just appreciation of the dignity and usefulness of the mechanical professions, and encourages self-respect, manliness, integrity and generous and elevated aims in those engaged in them. — Mr. Winthrop's Address is marked by a broad range of thought and historical illustration, and contains an eloquent exposition of the influence of commerce, alike in its local and its "larger and more comprehensive relations," and especially in its antagonism to war. — The accompanying Poem by Mr. Waterston falls smoothly on the ear, breathes a delightful spirit, and judged by the ordinary standard of anniversary poetry has nothing to fear from criticism. — The connexion and dependence of the several branches of industry and enterprise, the rights of labor and the importance of scientific culture, are well set forth in Mr. Eliot's Anniversary Address, which is a fresh and animated performance.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ecclesiastical Record.—The King's Chapel congregation in this city have chosen a successor to the late Rev. Dr. Greenwood. Rev. Ephraim Peabody, being obliged to leave New Bedford by a regard to his health, has accepted an invitation to become their minister. According to the usages of this church the services of induction into office will be performed by the Wardens, and not by an ecclesiastical council.—Rev. Mr. Parker of West Roxbury has accepted an invitation from a new religious society in this city, now worshipping at the Melodeon, to become their minister, and will therefore close his connexion with his former congregation.—Rev. Mr. Perkins, in consequence of his state of health, has relinquished the charge of the pulpit at Cincinnati, Ohio; where for the present Rev. Dr. Thompson of Barre is preaching.—Rev. Mr. Brown has resigned the parochial charge at Brattleboro', Vt.—Rev. Mr. Fosdick has resigned his ministry at Sterling.—Rev. Mr. Barry has resigned the pastoral office at Framingham, and accepted an invitation from the new society at Lowell.—The connexion of Rev. Mr. Damon with the congregation at Templeton has been dissolved.

Several members of the class recently graduated at the Divinity School have received and accepted invitations from vacant churches. We shall record their Ordinations as they shall take place.—Rev. Mr. Harrington, late of Chicago, has accepted an invitation to become the minister of the new society in Hartford, Conn.—Rev. Mr. Woodward, late of Bedford, has accepted an invitation to preach at Galena, Ill., for a year.—Several engagements, as we learn, have been made for the supply of pulpits during the winter or for a longer period. Rev. Mr. Pierpont, late of Boston, is thus engaged at Troy, N. Y.—Rev. Mr. Angier of Milton, at Washington, D. C.—Rev. Mr. Sargent of Boston, at Somerville.—Rev. Mr. Gale of Scituate, at Norton.—Mr. G. W. Bartol, recently from the Divinity School, at Chicago, Ill.—Mr. John Ellis, also from the Divinity School, at Eastport, Me.—Rev. Mr. Capen of South Boston has taken charge of the ministry-at-large in Baltimore, Md., for the winter.—Rev. Mr. Wellington, late of Manchester, N. H., is preaching in the city of New York, with reference to the formation of a third Unitarian society.

New York Convention.—The Autumnal Unitarian Convention for 1845 was held in the city of New York, October 22, 23, and 24. Advantage was happily taken of the dedication of the meetinghouse recently erected by the First Unitarian congregation, to invite the attendance of those who sympathized with them in their faith and hope, and by a very convenient arrangement the exercises of the Dedication and the Convention were brought into connexion. The weather was favorable; the number of clergymen present, larger than the distance from most of their homes would have allowed us to ex-

pect; the attendance of others exceeded our anticipations, many of both sexes being present, and some participating, in the discussions of the Convention, while the public services were thronged; the spirit of the various meetings was excellent, freedom, cordiality and an earnest but natural seriousness distinguishing them; and the effect seemed to be what all rejoiced in perceiving and feeling. The Convention was organized on Tuesday evening, October 22, in "the church of the Messiah," where all its subsequent sessions were held. After being called to order by Rev. Dr. Dewey, a Committee of nomination was appointed, who reported the following list of officers, who were chosen:—Rev. Francis Parkman, D. D. of Boston, *President*; Rev. Orville Dewey, D. D. of New York, Rev. G. W. Burnap of Baltimore, Hon. Stephen Fairbanks of Boston, *Vice-Presidents*; Rev. Chandler Robbins of Boston, Rev. C. T. Brooks of Newport, *Secretaries*; Rev. George Putnam of Roxbury, Rev. S. K. Lothrop of Boston, Rev. Samuel Osgood of Providence, Seth Lowe Esq. of Brooklyn, G. A. Crocker Esq. of Taunton, *Committee of Business*. The President, on taking the chair, made a few remarks, respecting the design of the Convention, and announced the religious services of the evening. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Briggs of Plymouth, and a Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Gannett of Boston, from 1 Timothy i. 15, on the prominence which should be given, in our exhibitions of Christianity, to the fact of human sinfulness, and the advantage which we may derive from our views in presenting the Gospel as a provision for the sinner's wants.

On Wednesday morning the Convention met, by adjournment, at 9 o'clock. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Hill of Worcester. After some incidental business, the Committee reported a series of resolutions, the first of which proposed a plan of organization for future semi-annual Conventions of our body, which gave rise to considerable debate, and was finally recommitted, to be presented in a new draught at a subsequent session. After prayer by Rev. Mr. Sewall of Scituate, the Convention adjourned, to attend the services of "Consecration."

The name of "the Church of the Divine Unity" had been given by the First Unitarian society in New York to the beautiful edifice which they have erected in place of the house, whose size and condition alike made them desirous of a more commodious building. Its situation, in the upper part of the principal street of the city, renders it more convenient for the worshippers, while the depth of the vestibule throws the church so far back from the street as to prevent any disturbance from the noise of that great thoroughfare. The interior of the building presents an example of highly elaborated Gothic architecture, and affords proof of the taste and liberality of the congregation. The Consecrating Prayer having been offered by Rev. Dr. Kendall of Plymouth, a Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Bellows of New York, from Ezra vi. 5 and 16, on the nature and importance of the Unitarian controversy, and the sectarian position which we held.

At 3 1-2 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon the members of the Convention, by invitation of the three Unitarian congregations of New York and Brooklyn, sat down to a Collation prepared in the Apollo Saloon, a hall capable of accommodating five or six hundred persons, which was filled by ladies and gentlemen, meeting as

amidst the blended associations of home and the sanctuary. Jonathan Goodhue Esq. of New York presided. The Divine blessing was asked by Rev. Mr. Lunt of Quincy. After the wants of the body had been supplied, brief addresses were made by several gentlemen. The company separated at 6 1-2 o'clock, after singing the doxology.

On Wednesday evening religious services were held in the church of the Divine Unity. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Huntington of Boston, and a Sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury, from John xviii. 37, on the sufficiency of the teachings of Jesus, as recorded in the Gospels.

The Convention reassembled on Thursday morning, at 9 o'clock. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence. The resolutions presented by the Business Committee, after the first, (which had been recommitted,) were severally considered. The second was in these terms, and after a few words from one or two members, was unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That Unitarian Christianity being derived solely and wholly from the Scriptures, avoids alike the errors of hierarchical and traditional faith and discipline on the one hand, and of the rationalistic theory on the other.

Elders Simonton and Currier, of the Christian denomination, and Rev. E. T. Taylor, of the Methodist Connexion, being present, were, by a unanimous vote, invited to take seats with the Convention; each of them afterwards participated in the debates. The next resolution gave rise to an animated discussion, in which many of those present took part. After a slight amendment it was unanimously adopted, in these words:—

Resolved, That while we adopt our theology on account of its Scriptural truth, we hold it preeminently valuable for the influences it is suited to exert upon personal character.

The next resolution offered by the Committee pronounced it "worthy of consideration, whether the changes which have been adopted by some of our congregations in the mode of conducting public worship be expedient." After remarks from several gentlemen, upon a suggestion that the passage of such a resolution might be interpreted as an encroachment upon the independence of our churches—the fundamental principle of Congregationalism,—it was voted that the resolution be laid on the table. The next resolution was couched in these terms, and after a few remarks by the President of the Convention, was unanimously adopted, the members rising and standing in silence till the vote was declared:—

Resolved, That the recent death of a venerable teacher of theology to many of the members of this Convention, Dr. Henry Ware, Sen., and also, of one of the former Presidents of the Unitarian Association, Mr. Justice Story, and of one of its Vice Presidents, Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, calls for our solemn and affectionate commemoration of their Christian worth and valuable services in the cause of truth.

As it was now the hour for dinner, the Convention, after prayer by Rev. Mr. Furness of Philadelphia, adjourned to 4 o'clock.

At 4 o'clock the meeting was resumed. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Burnap of Baltimore. The Business Committee presented a report on the subject of organization, which had been recommitted

to them on the previous day. This report met with no objection, and was at once unanimously adopted. It was in these terms:—

Whereas the result of our Autumnal Conventions has been thus far highly satisfactory, and their regular continuance promises to further the religious interests of our denomination, and the cause of Liberal Christianity in general, alike by the interchange of sympathy, the discussion of Christian truth, and the quickening of Christian zeal:—

Resolved, That these Autumnal Conventions be regularly continued.

Resolved, That whilst we disclaim all authority on the part of the Convention over the individual churches, we earnestly invite our pastors and people to give their zealous cooperation in the purposes of the Convention.

Resolved, That at the opening of each Convention the following officers be chosen:—

A President, three Vice Presidents, a Secretary, and Assistant Secretary:

And that at the close of each Convention a Committee of Arrangements of five be chosen.

It shall be the duty of the President, to preside at all meetings of the Convention; or in his absence, one of the Vice Presidents.

It shall be the duty of the Secretary, to keep a permanent record of the proceedings of the Convention.

It shall be the duty of the Committee of Arrangements, to determine the time and place for the next meeting, and devise measures for giving it interest and efficacy, and to prepare and present topics for the consideration of the Convention.

Rev. Mr. Burnap then communicated the desire of his congregation, that the next Convention should be held at Baltimore. Rev. Mr. Furness presented a similar invitation from the society at Philadelphia. J. F. Polk Esq. expressed a wish that the Convention might be held at Washington. The Convention thought it best that the subject should be referred to the Committee of Arrangements; which was then appointed, to consist of Rev. S. K. Lothrop, of Boston, Rev. Samuel Osgood of Providence, Rev. Ephraim Peabody of New Bedford, Hon. Stephen Fairbanks of Boston, and Hon. S. C. Phillips of Salem. The last of the resolutions reported by the Business Committee was taken up, and after several had spoken upon it was unanimously adopted, as follows:—

Resolved, That while we steadfastly maintain the independence of the individual congregations, we cordially favor such modes of association and organization as may quicken the life and secure the purity of our churches.

The business of the Convention having been completed, Rev. Dr. Dewey, on behalf of the New York and Brooklyn societies, expressed their gratification at the attendance which had been given and the interest taken in the meetings. Rev. Mr. Lothrop proposed a vote of thanks to our friends who had shown such a cordial and generous hospitality; which was adopted by the unanimous assent of the Convention, the members rising, and pronouncing an emphatic Aye. Prayer was then offered by Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury, and the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

On Thursday evening the closing services in this series of meetings took place at the church of the Divine Unity; where, after prayer by Rev. Mr. Lothrop, a Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr.

Peabody of New Bedford, from 1 Corinthians xv. 14 and 20, on the moral results, in the history of the world, of the resurrection of Christ.

We have given the briefest account of the proceedings on this occasion, which was consistent with our wish to make an accurate record. Of its character we can only speak in the most general terms. It was altogether an agreeable and profitable season. Those who were present felt "how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to" meet "together in unity," and those who were absent lost an opportunity of spiritual edification as well as fraternal intercourse. These autumnal Conventions, if they should continue to be conducted in the same spirit of freedom and love, will be among the most efficient means of giving our denomination stability and influence.

Sunday School Convention.—A Convention of Sunday School Teachers was held at Salem, Mass., October 29, 1845, by invitation of those connected with the Schools of the four Unitarian congregations in Salem. A Circular was addressed to the Sunday Schools in the County of Essex, in the city of Boston, and in one or two other places inviting attendance and proposing several questions respecting the instruction and management of Sunday Schools. The Convention assembled in the Barton Square Chapel, in number, including pastors, superintendents and teachers, about three hundred. Hon. Robert Rantoul of Beverly was chosen *President*; Messrs. J. W. Foster of Portsmouth, and L. G. Pray of Boston, *Vice Presidents*; and Mr. J. C. Chamberlain of Salem, *Secretary*. After prayer by Rev. Dr. Brazer of Salem, Hon. S. C. Phillips, chairman of the committee of arrangements, read extracts from the replies to the Circular. A question proposed by the Committee, relating to the means by which a greater number of teachers might be obtained and a greater interest imparted to their work, was made the subject of discussion, in which many participated. After other exercises of prayer and singing, the Convention adjourned to the vestry of the North Church, to partake of a Collation. Mr. Phillips presided and offered some pertinent remarks. After which the members returned to the Chapel and resumed the discussions. Prayer having been offered by Rev. Mr. Stone of Beverly, several gentlemen spoke, particularly on the discouragements and encouragements of the Sunday School teacher. The Convention was then closed with prayer by Rev. Mr. Thompson of Salem. In the evening, however, the members again met at Tea in the Vestry, and were addressed by Rev. Mr. Gray of Boston; and afterwards in the Chapel, with parents and other friends of the Sunday School, where an address was delivered by Mr. G. F. Thayer of Boston, and remarks were made by various gentlemen. The day was enjoyed by those who participated in its scenes, and the example of this Convention will probably lead to other similar meetings. The Worcester County Association has, through a trial of some years, found such meetings of the teachers of different schools to be very useful.

Ordinations and Installations.—REV. WILLIAM B. GREENE, of Boston, a member of the last Senior class in the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained as Pastor of the First Congregational Church and Society in BROOKFIELD, Mass., November 5, 1845. The Sermon

was preached by Rev. Mr. Clarke of Boston, from 2 Corinthians iv. 13; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Wellington of Templeton; the Charge was given by Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Nute of Petersham; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Hill of Worcester; and the other services, by Rev. Mr. Allen of Northboro', Rev. Mr. May of Leicester, and Rev. Dr. Thompson of Barre.

Rev. THOMAS B. FOX, late of Newburyport, was installed as Pastor of the "Church of the Warren Street Chapel" in Boston, Mass., November 9, 1845. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Peabody of New Bedford, from 1 Corinthians xv. 14 and 20; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Dr. Pierce of Brookline; the Right Hand of Fellowship was given by Rev. Mr. Lothrop of Boston; the Address to the People, by Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury; and the other services by Rev. Messrs. Huntington of Boston, and Thompson of Salem.

Dedications. — The "church of the Divine Unity," erected by the First Congregational Society in the city of NEW YORK, was consecrated by religious services, October 22, 1845. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Bellows, pastor of the church, from Ezra vi. 5 and 16; the Prayer of Consecration was offered by Rev. Dr. Kendall of Plymouth, Mass.; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Farley of Brooklyn, N. Y., Furness of Philadelphia, Penn., and Osgood of Providence, R. I.

The meetinghouse just erected by the First Congregational Society in BRIDGEWATER, Mass., to take the place of their former house; was dedicated November 19, 1845. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Bradford, pastor of the church, from Haggai ii. 7; the Dedictory Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Richardson of Hingham; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Briggs of Plymouth, Russell of Hingham, and Hodges of Cambridge.

The chapel of the First Unitarian Society of TROY, N. Y., was dedicated November 14, 1845. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Harrington of Albany, N. Y., from Ezekiel xlviii, 10; the Prayer of Dedication was offered by Rev. Mr. Pierpont of Troy; and the other services were performed by Rev. Messrs. Farley of Brooklyn, N. Y., Pierpont, and Harrington.

Protest against Slavery. — At a meeting of Unitarian ministers held during the anniversary week in May last, of which an account was given in the Examiner for July, a Committee was appointed to "draw up and circulate for signature among the ministers of the Unitarian body a Protest against the institution of American Slavery." Such a Protest having been prepared and transmitted to the different ministers of our denomination, has received the signatures of one hundred and seventy-three clergymen and preachers of our faith; being about two-thirds of the whole number. This Protest, which was excluded from our last number by the want of room, has been widely published in the Unitarian and other weekly journals. Still we think it too important a document, not to be placed in our record of ecclesiastical matters. Those who affixed their names to this paper, we are sure, were influenced by conscientious and Christian

motives; and those who withheld their names, we know, were constrained by not less urgent persuasions of duty. Imputations of other than right purposes and sincere convictions, on either side, are unjust, if not ungenerous. On a question of methods or measures they who agree on principles may be permitted to differ, without losing their confidence in one another. The Protest which we now give has been adopted as an expression of their own sentiments by the "Rhode Island and Massachusetts *Christian Conference*."

Protest against American Slavery, by one hundred and seventy-three Unitarian Ministers.

WE, the undersigned, disciples of Christ and ministers of his Gospel, in bearing our solemn testimony against the system of American Slavery, deem it proper in the first place to declare the grounds of our action.

We owe it to three millions of Slaves, our fellow-men and brethren, to do what we rightfully can to undo their burdens. The wrongs of the Slave, however distant he may be, are our wrongs; for Jesus has taught us that every sufferer whom we can relieve is our neighbor, though a stranger, of another race, and in a distant land.

We owe it to Slaveholders, our fellow-men and brethren, whom we believe to be in a position hostile to the influences of Christianity, to speak a word of warning concerning the moral evil and inhumanity of the system with which they are connected.

We are the more obliged to bear this testimony, because the Gospel of Christ cannot now be fully preached in the Slaveholding States. If it could, it might be less necessary to express our views in the present form. But violent and lawless men, as is well known, and as recent instances in our own experience show, have made it impossible for the Southern minister to declare the whole counsel of God by speaking freely of that particular sin with which the community he addresses is specially concerned. Consequently Southern men of better character, who would not, perhaps, themselves sanction such constraint, are nevertheless left without instruction as to their duty in relation to Slavery. And if neither religion, nor the instincts of humanity, nor the first principles of American liberty have taught them that the system is wrong, their ignorance may not be wholly their fault, but it would be ours, were we to suffer it to remain. That they have been educated to believe that Slaveholding is right, may be a reason why we should not severely blame them, but it is also a reason why we should show them the truth; since the truth on this subject must come to them, if at all, from the free States, through books, writings, and public opinion.

These reasons would induce us to speak, even if the North were doing nothing to uphold Slavery. But by our political, commercial and social relations with the South, by the long silence of Northern Christians and Churches, by the fact that Northern men, going to the South, often become Slaveholders and apologists for Slavery, we have given the Slaveholders reason to believe, that it is only the accident of our position which prevents us from engaging in this system as fully as themselves. Our silence therefore is upholding Slavery, and we must speak against it in order not to speak in its support.

Especially do we feel that the denomination which takes for its

motto, "Liberty, Holiness, and Love," should be foremost in opposing this system. More than others we have contended for three great principles, — individual liberty, perfect righteousness, and human brotherhood. All of these are grossly violated by the system of Slavery. We contend for mental freedom; shall we not denounce the system which fetters both mind and body? We have declared righteousness to be the essence of Christianity; shall we not oppose that system which is the sum of all wrong? We claim for all men the right of brotherhood before a universal Father; ought we not to testify against that which tramples so many of our brethren under foot?

These reasons would lead us to speak individually and separately. But our combined voices may be heard more widely and be more regarded; and we therefore speak in company. As we do not, as a denomination, combine in subscribing creeds and fixing systems of theology, the more should we be ready to unite in practical endeavors to remove moral evils. As our principles of religious liberty do not permit us to exclude our brethren who are Slaveholders from our Christian fellowship, the more should we testify against the Slave system itself. Some individuals may think they hold Slaves for the good of their bondmen, in order to give them their liberty under more favorable circumstances. We cannot regard such Slaveholders as we do those who hold their fellow-beings as property for the sake of gain or personal convenience. Leaving to God to decide on the comparative guilt or innocence of individual Slaveholders, we pronounce the system unchristian and inhuman.

And more especially do we feel bound to lift up our voices at the present time, when the South has succeeded in compromising the nation to the support of Slavery; when it has been made a great national interest, defended in our national diplomacy, and to be upheld by our national arms; when the nation has, by a new measure, solemnly assumed the guilt and responsibility of its continuance; when free Northern citizens, without any alleged crime, are thrown into Southern prisons and sold to perpetual bondage: when our attempts to appeal respectfully to the Federal Courts are treated with contumely, so that the question is no longer whether Slavery shall continue in the Southern States, but whether Freedom shall continue in *any* of the States. Now, therefore, when our reliance on political measures has failed, it is time to trust more fully in the power of Truth. To the schemes of party leaders, to political majorities, to the united treasures, arms, domains and interests of the nation, pledged to the extension and perpetuation of the system, let us now oppose the simple majesty and omnipotence of Truth. "For who knows not that Truth is strong, — next the Almighty?"

We, therefore, ministers of the Gospel of Truth and Love, in the name of God the universal Father, in the name of Christ the Redeemer, in the name of Humanity and Human Brotherhood, do solemnly protest against the system of Slavery as unchristian and inhuman, —

Because it is a violation of the law of Right, being the sum of all unrighteousness which man can do to man, depriving him not only of his possessions but of himself. And, as in the possession of one's self are included all other possessions, and in the right to one's self are included all other rights, he who makes a man a slave commits the greatest possible robbery and the greatest possible wrong.

Because it violates the law of Love, which says, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them."

Because it degrades man, the image of God, into a thing; changes persons into property; and, by violating the dignity of the human soul, is a constant sacrilege against that soul which the Scriptures declare to be the "temple of the Holy Ghost."

Because it necessarily tends to pollute the soul of the Slave,—producing all vices, and fostering habits of indolence, sensuality, falsehood, treachery, theft, moral stupor and perpetual childhood,—by taking away *hope*, which God has appointed as the lightener of toil, the spur of exertion, and the seed of progress, and by destroying the sense of responsibility, which is the bond that connects the soul with God.

Because it tends to defile the soul of the master, as unlimited power must generally produce self-indulgence, licentiousness, cruelty, arrogance and a domineering spirit,—qualities utterly opposed to the humility, meekness and self-denial of Christ. We cheerfully admit that some, both of the Slaveholders and Slaves, have nobly resisted these influences and shown us virtues which we should be proud to imitate. But we know that the prevailing tendency of the system is nevertheless evil, and that it must always offer manifold temptations and inevitable occasions to sin.

Because this system, as the indispensable condition of its continuance, must restrict education, keep the Bible from the Slave, make life insecure in the hands of irresponsible power, deprive female innocence of protection, sanction adultery, tear children from parents and husbands from wives, violate the divine institution of families, and by hard and hopeless toil make existence a burden.

Because Slavery, as all history testifies, eats out the heart of nations, and tends every year more and more to sear the popular conscience and impair the virtue of the people. It neutralizes the influence which we ought to exert on the world as a nation whose mission it is to extend the principles of political freedom. It degrades our national character, making us appear before mankind as solemn hypocrites, who declare "that *all* men are equal," and yet persist in holding a portion of them as slaves,—who declare that "*all* are endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and yet take these rights from a sixth part of their own community. Constantly to profess one thing and constantly to practise another must destroy the sinews of national virtue.

In pure obedience to these principles, which no circumstances can obscure and no time can change, we protest against any attempt to defend this system on the ground that the Slaves are often treated kindly. It is not a question of treatment, but of right; and the greatest kindness would be no compensation for the rights which are withheld.

We protest against any attempt to defend the system from the letter of the Scriptures or from practices recorded in the Old Testament, as a libel on God and Christ, which would tend, so far as the attempt succeeded, to destroy our confidence in the Bible. If this system was not prohibited among ancient nations by positive law, it was not for the reason that it was right, but that, like polygamy and other evil practices, "it was suffered for a time because of the hardness of their hearts." And if, from the imperfect knowledge under

the old dispensation, "the times of this ignorance God winked at," yet now in the light of the Gospel, "he commands all men everywhere to repent."

Finally, while we prescribe no man's course of action, we earnestly implore all to put forth their full energy, and in the most efficient modes, to show decidedly their sympathy with the Slave, and their abhorrence of the system of oppression of which he is made the victim.

We implore our brethren at the South, especially those who hold the same faith as ourselves, to show their faith by their works; to come out from all participation in this sin, and, in the way they deem best, "to undo the heavy burden and let the oppressed go free."

We implore our brethren at the North, who may go to reside in Slaveholding regions, to go determined to make every sacrifice of profit or convenience rather than become abettors of this inhuman institution.

We implore all Christians and Christian preachers to unite in unceasing prayer to God for aid against this system, to lose no opportunity of speaking the truth and spreading light on this subject, in faith that the truth is strong enough to break every yoke. We pray them to remember those whose hearts were in this cause, who have ascended on high. If Channing, Follen, Worcester and Ware are still mindful of what is passing below, they must be looking to us to take their places and do their work. Wherefore seeing we are compassed by such witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and do the work of him who sent us, while it is day.

And we, on our part, do hereby pledge ourselves before God and our brethren, never to be weary of laboring in the cause of human rights and freedom, till Slavery be abolished and every Slave made free.

NOTICE.

WE have determined, for the present year at least, to enlarge the size of our journal, that we may give a greater variety of contents, and may the sooner publish articles which accumulate upon our hands. Each number of the present and the next volumes will therefore contain one hundred and fifty-six, instead of one hundred and forty-four pages, by which we shall make an addition of seventy-two pages to each volume. The price remains the same as before. We shall therefore feel ourselves at liberty to return to our former number of pages after this year, unless our subscription list should justify a continuance of the larger size. Our present number, it will be perceived, contains a still farther addition of four pages—160 in all—which we have given for the sake of including notices that we were unwilling to defer.